

**PAY TV:  
A SPECIAL  
REPORT**

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

FEBRUARY 7, 1983

\$1.25

## After Joe, What?

**The anatomy  
of defeat**

**Clark's bid for  
a comeback**





**H**idden in the moody green hills of Ireland, fiddle-maker Michael O'Brien makes magic. Fiddles that are as light and magical as an Irish jig.

It's from people like Michael O'Brien that some of the finest expressions of Irish craft and character come forth. Each original, each born of a passion unique to the Irish.

And, it's from thatched cottages like his, that rich Irish cream is collected, then married to pure Irish whiskey to culminate in an unforgettable, unique expression called Baileys Original Irish Cream.

A treasured Irish liquor that defies duplication.

Baileys Original Irish Cream. As original as Michael O'Brien himself. And just as unforgettable.

**Baileys. Our taste is a national treasure.**



**COVER**

**After Joe, what?**

Joe Clark decided that 66-per-cent support in his divided party was not enough to call for a leadership convention to clear the air, but his prospects were clouded. Many supporters may not rise to fight again, while the rivals gear for battle. A Marston's team rescues Clark's setback, looks at the forces in Winnipeg that deflated him, and examines the contenders at the starting gate. — **Page 24**



**Shifting to the centre**

To bolster his administration, President Reagan, in his State of the Union address, proposed a pay freeze—but later courted trouble over corporate taxes. — **Page 24**



**Should you pay for TV?**

Much bawling, much bleep, pay TV is here. But where is it going? In a six-page report, Maclean's analyzes the business and the art of the new venture. — **Page 42**



**A fear of falling oil prices**

The prospect of a sudden collapse in world oil prices looked good at first glance but is sending shivers through the international banking community. — **Page 32**



**A universe leaps to life**

A successor to *The Muppet Show*, *Fraggle Rock* is a breakthrough in children's TV: a slick fantasy sitcom with high-tech morals and musical theatre thrown in. — **Page 52**

**CONTENTS**

Architecture	40
Books	26
Boxing	9
Business	28
Canada	18
Cover	14
Film	55
Follow-up	6
Fotheringham	56
Judice	28
Media	62
Newman	36
Passages	4
People	32
Religion	41
Science	49
Television	53
World	24



In an otherwise evenhanded cover story, you are really way off base in your reference to the Canada movement. For heaven's sake! All it does is stress the importance of spiritual renewal, reading the Bible, following Christ's counsel, prompt of loving thy neighbor, prayer and behaving, not just talking, in a way that can influence others to follow Christ. It is entirely within the church.

—THEODORE DAVIDSON,  
Scarborough, Ont.

## The U.S.S.R. and the Pope

In her excellent column on the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II (A Confused She to Be Alarmed, Jan. 17), Barbara Aronst says that only with the publication of a *Newsweek* cover story, *The Plot to Kill the Pope: Was the KGB Behind It?* on Jan. 3, was the question finally asked in a popular forum. In fact, *Reader's Digest* broke the story almost four months earlier with an extensive 13-page report on the KGB's suspected involvement, entitled *The Plot to Murder the Pope*.

—CHARLES W. HAZELL,  
Vice-president and editor,  
*Reader's Digest Magazines Ltd.*,  
Montreal

Have gone Aronst again, off and flying, long on vitriolic comment, short on common sense. It does not seem logical that the Soviet Union would be so stupid as to make a martyr of the Pope by having him assassinated. If there was any conclusive evidence to support their charges of Soviet involvement, I am sure that the U.S. and world press would quickly reveal it.

—JULIEN CHRISTIE,  
Naperville, Ont.

## The unleaded gasoline story

The Environment article *Lead Threats to the Toxic Lead 171* attempts to inform your readers about the contents of lead-free gasoline and the dangers they pose. One of the most effective substitutes for tetraethyl lead is the manganese additive *trimethyl cyclopentadienyl manganese tri-carbonyl* (TCM), a substance that is not used in the United States because of its potentially toxic effects. In Canada TCM is used because its concentration in gasoline is about one-twentieth that of lead and therefore more acceptable. However, detailed testing of the toxic effects of manganese oxide aerosols (which are emitted by the automobile) has not been done.



Prof. Andronou Constantine Hontela

and safe levels have not been established. I believe that it is irresponsible for our government to allow its use in gasoline under such circumstances when alternatives that are metal-free are available and in use in the United States.

—H.B. GOSWAMI,  
Chemistry Department,  
University of Waterloo,  
Waterloo

To suggest that Canada's environment is threatened by increasing levels of lead from our emissions is misleading. Environment Canada data shows that ambient air lead levels in Canada have declined by 45 per cent in the past 20 years and are now less than half the U.S. levels. More and more new cars are equipped with converters designed to run on unleaded gas. Between 1979 and 1982, lead used in gasoline was reduced by 47 per cent.

—DON BRIDGITTOR

President,  
Petroleum Association for Conservation  
of the Canadian Environment  
Ottawa

## PASSAGES

**DETH:** George Cukor, 65, the legendary Hollywood film director, of a heart attack, in a Los Angeles hospital. Cukor began his film career with the advent of talkies and during the next 50 years worked with the screen's finest actresses—among them Katharine Hepburn (whom he discovered), Norma Shearer, Grete Garbo, Joan Crawford and Ingrid Bergman. He was known as a superb craftsman whose movies—such as the Academy Award-winning *My Fair Lady*—combined artistic achievement with mass appeal.

**DEED:** Paul (Bear) Bryant, 49, the most successful coach in college football history, of a heart attack, in a Tuscaloosa, Ala., hospital less than a month after he retired from the game. Bryant, who coached at 393 wins at four different colleges over 38 years, was an occupation at the University of Alabama, where he coached the Crimson Tide for 20 years and presided over Joe Namath's entry into the American Football League, which eventually merged with the National Football League.

**DEIDE:** Michael Patrick Egan, 35, the two-foot-10-inch actor who played the character of E.T. in major parts of the film *E.T.*, the Extra-Terrestrial, of complications resulting from pneumonia, in a Vancouver, B.C., hospital. Egan, a newcomer to the screen, was reportedly negotiating to act in a sequel to the biggest money-making movie (\$204 million) in history.

**DEIDE:** Georges Bidault, 85, the French Resistance hero who became prime minister of France before being called for his opposition to Algeria's independence, following a stroke, in a hospital near Bayonne, France. Bidault, who had served as foreign minister under president Charles de Gaulle, played against the president's attempts to resolve the rebellion that ultimately brought independence to the French province in 1962. He was branded as a traitor and, after receiving amnesty in 1968, lived the rest of his life in relative obscurity.

**CONVICTED:** the death sentence of Mao Tse-tung's widow, Jiang Qing, 69, to life in prison, by China's Supreme Court, in Peking. The defiant Qing, leader of the extremist Gang of Four during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, was sentenced to death along with former vice-premier Zhang Qunqiao two years ago. They were both given two years in prison to reform. The court said its examination "showed the two criminals had not repented reform in a life-giving way."

## FOR AN EXCITING MID-WINTER BREAK...

# QUÉBEC IS THE NAME OF THE GAME



## JUST FOR THE FUN OF IT!

This winter, why not treat yourself to a mid winter break that offers all the fun and excitement you could possibly dream of. And, at the same time, make the most of our unbelievable vacation values.

Romantic sites, exciting shows, gourmet dining, the last word in designer fashion, exclusive boutiques, excellent hotel service... and much more. All for the pleasure of entertaining you, while catering to your every need.

Let Montréal or Québec City turn you on to exciting times you'll never forget. For more information on our super-value package deals, call your local travel agent or travel agent, or contact us by calling free of charge 1-800-361-5405 (except in Newfoundland) or by returning the coupon.

Welcome to the good times in Québec.

**Industrie  
Quebec**  
TOURISME

Mail to: Mid winter break  
P.O. Box 20-000  
Québec City, Québec  
G1K 7G2

Please send this mail information on  
your package deal holiday to Montréal  
and Québec City.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
PROVINCE \_\_\_\_\_  
POSTAL CODE \_\_\_\_\_

ATTACH OLD ADDRESS LABEL HERE

AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY!

I am interested in Québec City and/or Montréal  
and will send you more information on all  
packages and other offers from these regions as well

## SUBSCRIBERS NOTICE

Send correspondence to:  
Midwest P. Box 1900 Stouffville,  
Ontario Canada M1R 2B8

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
Province \_\_\_\_\_  
Postal code \_\_\_\_\_

## Reflections on another year

Part of your Jan. 3 *Images of '88* issue, *Fading Hopes and Fading Fortunes*, was aptly titled in view of its sadly misplaced sentiments. Although you lament the lack of compassion and human warmth in 1988, you credit Hollywood's elite, B.T., with reviving these emotions while merely alluding to the brilliant achievement of fitting a dying man with an artificial heart. Has human life come to hold so little value that we identify our hopes and give our love to the imaginary escapades of a mechanical creature while just barely reflecting about the preservation of a life?

—CHRISTY ELAHE,  
Maitland

Has *Marlene* become the defender of big business and the mouthpiece of government? Nowhere in your Jan. 3 review of 1988 was there a mention of the four-mission films that has adversely affected more than 80,000 homes in Canada.

—PATRICIA CLAVEL,  
Scarborough

The best presentation of the old year by your magazine since I started reading it 60 years ago.

—NOMA PARIZAT,  
Montreal

The flamboyant introvert, who looks like a lanky bear and writes like a shark, strikes again! According to Allan Fotheringham, the "unknown" will unfold the way it wasn't supposed to in the coming year (*Culture*). Fotheringham has succeeded in viciously attacking countries, bands, newspapers, political figures, bankers, actors, singers, boaters, sports and even criminals! And he did it all in a single page! Since the world is going to be in such bad shape, maybe Fotheringham could make it a much better place by revealing his pet and leaving *Marlene* to last page to a writer who has nobler taste.

—HELENE KOSTERNAK,  
Kopaschuk, Ont.

Why the picture of Giffen Williams is a robin (*Sports*)? He was a sports ball in of itself. An image illustrating his vitality would have been more appropriate.

—MICHAEL D. MURPHY,  
Montreal

In your editorial of Jan. 3 you state, "For Canadians the high point [of the year] was a visit to Ottawa by the Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, and Queen Elizabeth II signed the documents that gave the country its own written Constitution and Charter of Rights for the first time." You must agree by joking.

—JOSH  
Edmonton

## FOLLOW-UP

# Quest for a fairer world

By John Hay

It has been three years since former West German chancelier Willy Brandt released his influential report on world development—time enough for it to become a strangely bygone success. Under its formal title, *North-South: A Program for Survival*, the Brandt commission's report immediately became required reading among academics, activists, journalists and politicians engaged in the relations between rich and poor countries. It was published in 22 languages and has become, by the standards of such reports, a worldwide best seller. London-based

granted also remains to be taken.

Intense as the long-range reforms are understandable, more that would involve an extensive shift of power and wealth from the few rich countries of the world to the vast majority of poor countries that were troubling to the 21 members of the commission—which includes such states as former British prime minister Edward Heath and Commonwealth Secretary-General Shirdath Ramephal from Guyana—was the world's slow reaction even to the "emergency program" that the report set out for the years 1988 to 1990. Indeed, a check of the four-point program reveals a meagre harvest of results. A



Mexico's rich and poor living side by side: most emergency measures not taken

Pan Books has sold 178,000 copies worldwide, the *NY Times*, which lists U.S. and Latin American rights and shares the Canadian market with Pan, has sold another 50,000. Among diplomats the report's recommendations took on semi-official status on the international agenda. And it is one of the few books ever to have prompted an international summit conference—in 1981 at Cancun, Mexico (where Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was a co-chairman).

Despite all of this acclaim, however, the real impact of North-South has been ambiguous at best. The Brandt commission itself (formally called the Independent Commission on International Development Issues) was forced last month to admit that "virtually none of the long-range reforms we proposed have been implemented and the greater part of the emergency measures we sug-

gested-scale transfer of resources" to developing countries has not occurred, and the flow of aid from some donor countries has stagnated. "An international energy strategy" has been derided by recession, energy conservation and a consequent slump in oil prices. "A global food program," which Brandt said should be financed with \$5 billion (U.S.) in aid, has never materialized on such a scale. "Reforms in the international economic system" is the area in which some starts have been made, but mainly because rich countries and their banks have demanded defaults by such heavily indebted countries as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

Joe Morris, a retired president of the Canadian Labour Congress and the only Canadian on the Brandt commission, says that the group became so disturbed by the course of the world economy that it decided, at a meeting in Kuwait

**SK-750**

**Play it your way.  
Pioneer Personal Stereo.**

Your way is to play it as you like—in the comfort of your home or at your side as you enjoy the active life anywhere. That's why we call our portables the Personal Stereo.

Our way is to play it as we always have done—with the same emphasis on original technology and attention to detail that have made Pioneer a leader in high fidelity for nearly half a century. This is why we've put extra big 18cm woofers in the SK-750, and have even given the economical SK-350 Dolby® noise reduction and metal tape capability, for instance.

Personally speaking, when it comes to fine sound reproduction and up to the minute conveniences, the proof is in the playing with a Pioneer Personal Stereo. Hear one at your Pioneer dealer's today.

© 1988, and distributed by 21 worldwide subsidiaries.  
© 1988 Pioneer Electronics Corporation

**PIONEER**

Circle Customer Service

**SHP S.H. PARKER CO.**

100 Leominster Road, Dept. M100, Plymouth, MA 01962-4530  
SHP Leominster, Dept. M100, P.O. Box 270, Plymouth, MA 01962-4530  
100 Leominster Road, Dept. M100, P.O. Box 270, Plymouth, MA 01962-4530



Brundt countering destructive forces

last January, to postpone the commission's own retirement and to produce a second report. That document, called *Common Crisis*, is scheduled to be released this month. It stresses short-term reforms in the international financial system—chiefly an expansion of the lending powers of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—to prevent a recurrence of production and trade that could bring on national bankruptcies. This second report has been published by Anthony Sampson, the British author and journalist whose laud style graciously earned the weight of national ex-North-South With the released *Common Crisis*, the commission is winding down its activities. Says Morris: "We have pretty well come to the end of our work."

Brundt, 68, who took of the chairmanship in 1977, has no illusions about the independent commission's clout with governments around the world—even those which, like Canada's, helped finance the \$6-million project. "We differ very much from other institutions," he explains. "We have to look for others to pick up our recommendations." Nor does Brundt claim more than a partial success. "Golf, I think we have influenced the debate," he says.

As a man who resigned the Nazis in his native Germany and later helped throw the Cold War with his diplomatic ("Eastern policy") for improving relations with Moscow, Brundt can also speak with some authority about challenging the hegemonism of good causes—such as reforming the world's economic system, says Brundt. "I understand that there are people today who think we just cannot do much about it. I have dreamed, for the years I have left of my life—together with others—not to accept this view but, wherever possible, to counteract the negative and destructive and selfish forces." ♦



# FIRST CLASS EUROPEAN TRAIN TRAVEL FOR ABOUT THE PRICE OF A CAB TO THE AIRPORT\*

Eurailpass gives you unlimited First Class train travel through sixteen countries for fifteen days. The total cost? \$325. That's less than twenty-two dollars a day or about cab fare to the airport.\*

What is First Class European train travel like? Extraordinary. Trains are comfortable, convenient and, on time.

Ask your travel agent about a Eurailpass for 15 days, 21 days, one month, two months, or three months.

Send for our free, colorful and informative brochure today, and travel Europe First Class this year.

\*Approximate cost of single cab trip to a major airport.



## EURAILPASS

Yes, I want to enjoy First Class European train travel for about the price of cab fare to the airport.\* Rush the free Eurailpass color brochure to:

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
City: \_\_\_\_\_ Province: \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code: \_\_\_\_\_  
Not today to: Eurailpass Distribution Centre  
P.O. Box 100 Succursale R. Montreal H2S 3K9



Every great Caesar has a silent partner.

A Premium Vodka distilled in Canada by Schenley Canada Inc.



# The Sound of our Toronto In the Key of Queen Street.



CKFM 98.1, THE SOUND OF OUR TORONTO.

## COLUMN

### A governor snookers a nation

By Fred Braving

**G**eorge Corley Wallace, you old manse. How sweet it must be for the new governor of Alabama to count among his considerable accomplishments the smooching of a nation served by three major television networks. *The New York Times* and the *Republican Party* Youth Squad. For it turns out that Wallace was never when standing up for America, Wallace must remain seated.

Once assertive and incendiary, he now seems tentative and mild. His bearing is poor, his voice soft. Roaring words too strenuous and certainly out of place. The man obviously is not in the mood for Gilded-Birmingham. When he discusses race relations he seems a sweet and kindly soul (minister? social worker?) whose fondest dream is that Americans, black and white, settle their differences and

***'George Wallace is not a rascal anymore. Once assertive and incendiary, he now seems tentative and mild'***

move toward the last century arm in arm, humming a doleful anthem of liberation.

Compassionate and benevolent, he extols the dignity of all work, of all people, all races, creeds, nationalities. He preaches himself as a humble son of the soil who grows for his battered homeland. Alabama, he knows, is in deep trouble. Steel mills are closing, tire factories have cut back. Per capita income is among the lowest in the country. Unemployment is 13 per cent. During his campaign, Wallace told supporters that he could help. He still had someone in high places, he insisted. His name still opened doors. Alabama needed George Wallace, he said. His needs Wallace didn't mention.

Bygone days bygone, Wallace was sent back to the state house after a four-year absence. He received enormous support (not full from black voters who distrusted the conservative Republican candidate, Montgomery Mayor Ernest Forster, and who saw in Wallace a disguised "W. Lee Bush") and a minister in Montgomery, "baptized" faith in the process of redemption."

Maybe Wallace does, too. "Some of you have summoned me in your weakness," he said at the moment. "Now all of you must summon me by your strength." One may sigh at the words, at the arduous humor journey undertaken and ordered. The politics of resurrection prevail. The prodigal returns. Wonders never cease.

Yet something must be said for the past. Something said for the four black children who died when the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham was ripped by a bomb eight months into Wallace's first administration. For Rev. James Reeb, a Unitarian minister from Boston who was beaten to death in Selma while participating in a 1965 civil rights drive. For another minister, Viola Liuzzo of Detroit, mother of five, murdered the same year while driving between Selma and Montgomery. For Lurleen Wallace, George's first wife and who, a professional health when George urged upon the electorate because he could not succeed himself for a second term. Lurleen ran and was in 1968 and then, after 16 months as George's surrogate, died of cancer.

Wracking events, perhaps, but somehow Wallace carried on. Did he ever? During his 1968 presidential campaign, Gov. George came to New York for a rally at Madison Square Garden. His followers jammed the hall, and Wallace burst upon them with a sound and a fury that sent tremors into the bedrock of Manhattan. Given their timidity, the faithful hoisted and howled. They aimed loud demonstrators scattered around the auditorium and, flags unfurled, pledged allegiance to the man who said that he would make America decent again. Later, a young clergyman who had been watching the spectacle found a pay phone on his way out of the arena. "When he tried to speak, his voice broke. 'It was just as mother and dad described in Germany in the 1930s. . .,'" he told the press on the other end. "Just the same."

The George Corley Wallace who roared across the Garden stage in June 1968, we see a fellow sitting quietly in his wheelchair, offering us peace. No accompanying need be made, no passion for past incipience, no further explanation. That earlier George Corley Wallace did not so much retire after 16 years of service, he escaped.

Fred Braving is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.





# Opening the gas tap to Japan

By Mary Jangnan

**T**he decision—barricaded in 144 pages of tedious prose—was born in controversy and tinged with controversy. In a spate of headlines late last week, the National Energy Board grandly produced its recommendation to the federal cabinet: the authorization of natural gas exports should be doubled and the market diversified beyond the United States with sales of liquefied natural gas to Japan. The board argued that the new exports will pump about \$70 billion into Canada's aging balance of payments account before the year 2000.

Some economists promptly charged that Canada is preparing to sell its brightlight—and perhaps to sell itself short. To add to the controversy, the board admitted that no recommendations pats Canada in the lucrative position of offering U.S. customers more gas than they now want—above the price it can farm right.

The board reached its decision, which now must be approved by the government, after five months of hearings last year to determine the extent of the gas surplus and to analyze the costs and benefits of applications from 13 companies to sell 26.5 megajoules of gas—or a 10-year supply at current consumption levels in Canada. A surplus is deemed to exist when Canada has conventional reserves that are more than 25 times the amount of the current year's demand. The board decided that Canada has a surplus of 10 to 15 years.

In a controversial move, the board went on to set aside 30 per cent of the total export level for the financially "at-risk" companies to receive for \$1.5 billion over the next 10 years. The board also

troubled Duane Petroleum Ltd. The company had applied for a 30-year permit to send 3.1 megajoules of liquefied natural gas to Japan. Instead, it received a 10-year permit, running between 1984 and 2001, to provide 2.4 megajoules. The landmark sale means that Canada has finally found another customer for its gas after decades of selling only to the United States. Despite this victory, Duane must still fulfill some hefty board conditions—including the provision of more details on costs and revenues—or the gas will be freed for export by other firms. The board's action seems justified. The Duane pro-

ject tend to increase the cost of energy supply to Canadians in the long run.

New Democratic Party energy critic Ray Skelly promptly challenged the summary and argued that Canada was providing its cheap gas to American—and saving expensive frontier gas for future domestic needs. He also charged that the board placed too much reliance on gas company calculations when it set the tariffs. "Twenty years ago the oil companies were saying that we had 800 years of oil and no need to fear—this sounds like the same old song," he says. "Even if the surplus exists, Skelly says that it is fully used in the north and west U.S. competition for world markets, 'whereas what's available for us down the road is expensive gas'."

To add to the opposition, the chief economist does not want the gas at the current price. Last year the United States bought only 61 per cent of the amount that Canadian producers were licensed to export under present quotas. And the U.S. Congress is mounting a high-pressure campaign to force such major producers as Canada to lower prices. At present, Canada charges \$4.94 (U.S.) per thousand cubic feet—compared to the Alberta border price for Canada of \$2.38. Energy Minister Jens Christian has hinted that Canada will be flexible in its pricing demands when senior officials from the two countries meet in Washington this week to discuss a wide range of energy policies.

The board left the pricing decision to the political arena—although Chairman Geoffrey Ridge pointed out that it is now "a buyer's market."

The story's Skelly argues that the board should have proposed an export mechanism because of the strong U.S. pressure. Despite these objections, the federal cabinet is expected to give prompt approval to the board's recommendations. The debate between cash and caution, however, is certain to continue throughout the lifetime of the project.

With Ken Adams in Ottawa and William Leather in Washington.



Laying gas pipeline, pumping in Alberta, or testing a brightlight?

## SASKATCHEWAN

### Charges of abduction

**R**egina, and much of the country, was still reeling last week over the brutal murder of Joann Wilson, the former wife of Saskatchewan's recently ousted energy minister, Colin Thatcher, when further developments created another burst of speculation. The day after her mother was beaten and shot to death, nine-year-old Stephanie Thatcher was playing at the country house of a friend, Kristin Kohli, in the well-to-do Regina neighborhood of Lakeview, just a few blocks from the provincial legislature building. Kristin's mother, Susan, answered a knock at the front door and, when she returned to the main part of the house, she found four men and a woman on the back porch. They entered "uninvited," Kohli told reporters later, and, after a brief struggle in a bedroom to which the child had fled, took the distraught Stephanie from Kohli's arms and departed.

Police subsequently retrieved Stephanie "from a home in Moose Jaw," and an interim court order placed her in the custody of Tony Wilson, an Interprovincial Steel and Pipe Corp. executive who married her mother in 1981. The subsequent laying of charges of abduction and public mischief against Thatcher, a wealthy Moose Jaw rancher and son of former Saskatchewan Liberal premier Ross Thatcher, and his friend, lawyer Terry Berwick, a government provincial Liberal and a former MIA, was all that was needed to make the latest chapter in the long-running tragic saga of the Thatcher and Wilson families the hot topic of conversation for another week.

In addition, by midweek it was revealed that Moose Jaw Credit Union Ltd. had launched foreclosure proceedings against Thatcher for failure to make payments on a \$300,000 mortgage and threatened to seize 100 acres of farmland, about one-third of it. Thatcher spread, valued at \$1.4 million. Regina police admitted that they still had no suspects in his wife's beating and shooting death, despite the posting of a \$50,000 reward and the detailed suspicion of a man who was seen fleeing the scene. Thatcher was seen boarding a plane Thursday for Palm Springs, Calif., where he was a co-owner. He told a reporter that he was "frustrated" with the innuendoes contained in news reports of his family's misadventure. They include, he said, of the National Enquirer.

—PATRICIA SHERIDAN in Regina.



Charging teachers at Windsor, time for strikers and a plot to cut union funds

## QUEBEC

### The Common Front cracks

**T**he first round in Quebec's unlimited and illegal general strike by a Common Front of 200,000 government and parapublic employees went to the unions last week. Most schools, police, colleges, government offices, day care centres and community clinics were paralysed as workers walked off the job to protest Bill 165. The legislation, imposed last month, abruptly cut wages by as much as 10 per cent for the first three months of 1986 and set incomes and working conditions until 1986. Premier René Lévesque sought to sidestep an economy in crisis by cracking the Common Front and separating the richer workers from the poorer. The strategy began to show effects, and it appeared that this week's planned shutdown of the province's hospitals would be less successful.

Half of the nonprofessional hospital employees—nurses, aides, and housekeeping staff—went on the low end of the public service income scale and, as a result, are unaffected by the graduated wage cutbacks. In contrast, the enthusiastically striking teachers constitute fully half of the highest-paid employees, who are hardest hit by Bill 165. That fact, combined with Lévesque's evident determination to play hardball with illegal strikers, dampened the ardor of the 88,000 medical support staffers who belong to the Social Affairs Federation (FASQ), the largest union in the Common Front. Almost half of FASQ leaders announced that they would not strike. In addition to the blow to solidarity, 45,000 nurses cancelled

plans to walk out this week and started voting on a tentative contract agreement reached by their union leaders and the government late Thursday.

Despite the thaw, the government kept up the pressure. It laid more than 800 charges for participation in an illegal strike against teachers and civil service unions and their members. Fines on conviction could run to \$200 a day for individuals, \$50,000 for union leaders and \$50,000 a day for unions. Over the weekend the government continued to ponder the merits of introducing emergency back-to-work legislation. And the government attempted to rally public opinion against the Common Front's embroiled situation that a strike will "improve their lot" with persuasive four-page newspaper advertisements. But Lévesque realized that his Ronald Reagan-style resolutions as the unions was a two-edged sword. To be sure, Bill 165 was a desperate measure, with a deficit of at least \$1.5 billion and the highest taxed citizens in the nation, Quebec, did not have the money to accede to union demands. But even Lévesque acknowledged that he was antagonizing his party's most loyal supporters—blue-collar workers and provincial government—and that he was necessarily winning the support of the rest of the population, which blames his government for the economic mess in the first place. At a private dinner for diplomats in Quebec City, the premier confessed, "I don't think we're going to win the next few elections."

—ANNE BRISSE in Montreal.

## Clenched fists in court

The hallway outside Vancouver's provincial courtroom 301 resembled a cross between a demonstration and an airport security check last week as 200 spectators—friends, family, reporters and simply the curious—lined up for the appearance of five people accused of terrorist activities and a sabotage conspiracy. Half the crowd failed to get in. Those who did had to undergo a body frisk and electronic scanning before they entered the 135-seat courtroom.

The young defendants face charges that include the bombings last year of a B.C. Hydro substation, which caused \$4.5 million in damages, and seven attacks on three stores selling adult videotapes. The accused are Brent Taylor, 26, Gerald Hannah, 26, David Clarkson, 26, Juliette Belawa, 20 (all sharing the same house in New Westminister), and Douglas Stewart, 25, of Vancouver. They seemed unconcerned by the heavy security surrounding their appearance in court and began each with mouthed messages to friends in the packed courtroom and gave clenched fist salutes. They were not in court long—it took only 10 minutes for defence lawyers to obtain an adjournment to Feb. 15 so that they could get the details of the case against their clients. As the defendants were led back to jail, Hannah turned and shouted, "We strong and sweet," drawing cheers and applause from most of the crowd.

The five face charges that include conspiring to attack an industrial building for Shell Oil in North Vancouver, conspiring to attack the Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta. (preposed testing site of the U.S. cruise missile), another alleged conspiracy to rob a Bank's armored car, and allegedly possessing explosives, stolen goods and weapons.

The five were moved to provincial prisons from Vancouver police cells after defence lawyers said that Toronto detectives were harassing their clients in interrogation. They first questioned about the Oct. 11 bombing of a Little Sisters plant which injured seven people. Before he left the courtroom, the bearded, dark-haired Taylor joined Hannah in gesturing to the crowd. "Live up yourselves," he shouted, waving a clenched fist in the air as he quoted a song by Bob Marley and the Wailers, formerly one of the most popular reggae groups in Canada.

Taylor himself is perhaps the best known of the five defendants, who were active in causes that included feminism, native and prisoners' rights, environ-

mental issues and the movement to ban nuclear weapons. He grew up in the wealthy Victoria community of Oak Bay and is remembered by high school teachers there as a above-average student interested in rugby, music and skiing. On Nov. 29, 1987, he drew attention to himself by hitting Opposition Leader Joe Clark in the back of the head with a crown pin at a time when self-styled anarchists were regularly hitting politicians with pins in Vancouver. Taylor "he was not charged in the pin incident—identified himself on that occasion as a member of the New Questioning Centre Brigade. Twelve days before the pin-



Red Hot store exhibit: Hints and scars.

throwing incident he had joined the San Francisco Bay branch of Canada's leftists, represented in Vancouver, turning out for Toronto viewing parties for almost a year before he decided to quit in 1978. In 1981 he attended public meetings with his girlfriend, Anne Hansen, to discuss opposition to B.C. Hydro's site-sited plan to build a coal-burning generating station on Hut Creek, near Lillooet, in the B.C. Interior.

Hansen, who was active in attending anticensorship demonstrations, wrote for the early editions of *Malicious*, a paper published by a Toronto organization dedicated to protecting the rights of prisoners. Before moving to Vancouver in 1982, Hansen also wrote for the *Toronto*

star. Clarkson, a left-wing monthly newspaper.

The other pair sharing the nested house with Hansen and Taylor—Gerald Hannah and Juliette Belawa—both grew up in the Vancouver area. Before Hannah became "Gerry Hansen," the bass guitar player in the Dubbumenters, a new defunct punk rock group he helped form in 1978, he went to Burnaby North Senior Secondary School. He left school in 1975 after failing to complete Grade 11. Rick Zimmerman, a boyfriend friend, remembers him as a teenager absorbed in science fiction. "He became interested in music in high school and always had some band or other going," Zimmerman said. "He had quite a few girlfriends and wasn't academic at all."

Hannah's girlfriend, Belawa, the youngest of the defendants, went to school in Port Couillard before graduating from Argyll Secondary School in North Vancouver in 1980. Belawa's older brother Peter, a television technician at a station in Reno, Nev., described his sister as a bright, intense girl, eager to try out her arguments on friends and to clear disagreement on him. "Half the time I used to play devil's advocate to test her beliefs but most of the time I agreed with her positions," Belawa said. He was not an enthusiastic about her preference for punk fashions, including cropping her hair and dying it pink last summer before allowing it to grow out to its normal brown color. The fifth defendant, Douglas David Stewart, is also from Vancouver, but little is known about him except that he has participated in anticensorship demonstrations for the past two years.

The arrests and the display of weapons and explosives captured by police stunned peaceable activists who oppose massive hydro projects, pornography and nuclear weapons but who do not approve of bombings to express opposition. Many activists object to the appropriation of the term Direct Action, the heading on two communications justifying the Toronto Latex and B.C. Hydro bombings. It is a phrase that normally refers to people's attempts to take control of their own lives through less violent methods, such as forming food co-ops. "Despite what the police and the news media seem to think, nobody has the NA [Direct Action] franchise in B.C.," growled the anarchist publication, B.C. *Blackout*. The police, for their part, appear to have stretched a kind of indirect action. For example, they have not yet explained why surveillance of the suspects, which was in place before those Red Hot Video stores were attacked on Nov. 22, was not in place around the clock at the time when the stores were fire-bombed.

—MALCOLM GLAY in Vancouver, with Carol Freeman in Toronto

Get a better grip on the news  
...get this versatile Carry-all

# FREE!

with your paid Half-Price\* subscription to  
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
**Macleans**

It's our most exciting gift yet...a spacious, top-quality, all-weather Carry-all FREE! Attractive and compact, it's a smart carry-on bag for business trips, yet it's roomy and rugged enough for weekend or the gym. Features include a detachable, adjustable shoulder strap, double handles, 100% "Rip-stop" nylon construction, and two handy pockets. Use it anywhere, to carry anything, for years and years to come!

And, get a better grip on the news with Maclean's, Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine. Week after week, you'll enjoy in-depth news coverage from Canada and around the world. Subscribe today at Half-Price\* and get your versatile Carry-all FREE!

**40 issues only \$25**

\*Best rate of \$2 per issue. You save 50% off the \$125 newsstand price.



**Special Feature**  
Folds into its own handy pouch—ideal for pocket or purse. Open it and right away you have a large, good looking Carry-all. Order now!



**Maclean's** Box 6840 Station A  
Vancouver, B.C. V6N 1A7  
**Free Carry-all and Savings Coupon**

☐ 40 issues only \$25. Send me and Carry-all when I pay

☐ SEND CARRY-ALL NOW!

☐ I enclose \$25. Send my Carry-all NOW!

Mr. Mrs. Miss. Ms. Other. First Name Last Name  
Address City Province  
Post Code

**LONGER TERM SAVINGS!**

☐ 52 issues only \$20.80. Send me and Carry-all when I pay

☐ SEND CARRY-ALL NOW!

☐ I enclose \$20.80. Send my Carry-all NOW!

# Living up to the Tory syndrome

By Carol Goss

In the manager's office of the Winnipeg Convention Centre, Joe Clark and Maureen McTeer shared a buoyant sense of fun with their closest friends and advisers. But as the 2,000 Conservative delegates were lined up to vote on the subject of the Tory leadership review—and, indirectly, on the future of Joe Clark. The early scenes were promising. Clark had just addressed the con-



McTeer watching Clark's leadership convention call: two years of it was enough for anyone

vention, and the speech went well. The crowd had staggered him with 30 hours of applause, and CBC television had aired a show poll indicating that Clark led the backing of 76 per cent of the delegates. Then, at 9:30 p.m. central standard time on Friday, Jan. 28, a messenger handed Clark a plain white envelope with his personal preview of the results of the ballot. The concepts were devastating: Clark had captured only 66.9 per cent of the delegates' support—a slight decrease from two years ago. In the agonizing moments that followed, McTeer maintained a disciplined composure, managing to look elegant in a white, high-necked dress. Clark was less cool. But the expectations of victory was shattered. Said David MacDonald, a former United Church minister and MP who is now a Clark speech writer and was in the room at the time: "Everybody was shocked. We weren't expecting a runaway victory, but we thought we were safe."

Maureen McTeer, Clark's chief organizer in caucus, was the first to enter the room. He was so stunned by the count as the others already in the room—Peter Harder, Clark's begin-looking principal secretary, Finlay MacDonald, his white-haired senior adviser, Senator Lowell Murray, his national newspaper chairman, Terry Yates, the party's chief fund raiser, and MacDonald Clark's main messenger to members—three were invited into William James from Perth, Ont., House Leader

Erik Malina and Alberta MP Dan Macdonald. As the raucous dance music outside reached fever pitch, the 10 people explored Clark's options. But the discussion was halfhearted. MacDonald suggested that Clark should not make up his mind too quickly, and several others agreed that he could still hang on. Finlay MacDonald, however, was firm. Clark, he said, had no choice but to call a leadership convention—and to do it soon. Clark had also been advised earlier to take such a step by

several weeks. "Consequently," he repeated, "I will be recommitting to the national executive that they call a convention." Again he was drowned out by an urgent chorus of "No, No, No," but he persisted "... at the earliest possible time."

That declaration profoundly altered the contours of Canada's political landscape. The 40-year-old Alberta threw his own party into leadership limbo, prompted the governing Liberals to quiet grief, and left the nation wonder-

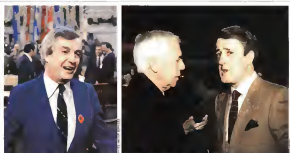
ing when—if ever—the Conservatives will be able to provide a credible alternative to Liberal government. Suddenly Clark was just one candidate in a wide-open leadership race. And the party machinery is now in the hands of surely shrewd MP President Peter Eltinger, an Alberta MP who is a gentleman Clark foe. As David MacDonald observed: "We're between Good Friday and Easter Sunday."

Only one production seemed entirely secure. The next few weeks will provide Canadians with a rapidly unfolding drama as one leadership segment after another enters the race. Most of the obvious contenders were either gay or cautious in the immediate wake of Clark's unexpected announcement. Former Toronto mayor and Roadside MP David Crombie, for one, commented: "I

ing when—if ever—the Conservatives will be able to provide a credible alternative to Liberal government. Suddenly Clark was just one candidate in a wide-open leadership race. And the party machinery is now in the hands of surely shrewd MP President Peter Eltinger, an Alberta MP who is a gentleman Clark foe. As David MacDonald observed: "We're between Good Friday and Easter Sunday."

Only one production seemed entirely secure. The next few weeks will provide Canadians with a rapidly unfolding drama as one leadership segment after another enters the race. Most of the obvious contenders were either gay or cautious in the immediate wake of Clark's unexpected announcement. Former Toronto mayor and Roadside MP David Crombie, for one, commented: "I





Longhead (left), Philby MacDonell and Mulroney: a calm and uneventful beginning to the leadership assembly

## COVER

some have fully expected that Joe Clark would be confirmed. I haven't made any decision. I don't have any plans." But friends of the so-called "big, perfect mayor" of the 1970s made it clear that they are waiting for Crosbie to join him, but into the ring as some as politicians permits. Already, close associates have established a network of workers, friends and supporters.

One by one, the pretenders to the throne made perfunctory denials of their leadership ambitions—initially and temporary though they were. Eulink John Crosbie of Newfoundland hosted a boisterous party into the early hours of the morning after the vote. Although he cautioned on Saturday that he had no decided wish to be a candidate—"It's far too early to say"—at least one of the Newfoundland delegates at the party left with the impression that it was time to start campaigning. Crosbie had been travelling across the country for months drumming up interest, the delegates explained. "Do you think he will sell in the West?" the eager booster asked. Crosbie would say only that he thought an open leadership race would be healthy and helpful for the party and that he looked forward to it.

Mulroney's Brian Mulroney, the 60-year-old president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, whose many people regard as the Conservative party's price-cutting, made no official comment. But in a suite a few floors below Clark's delegation, Mulroney was eager to talk. In fact, he kept his wife, Milla, waiting in the hotel bar for more than 30 minutes

while he chatted, off the record, with two reporters about his career plans and the Conservative party's future in his home province of Quebec. Finally, with great impatience, called back to the hotel suite, and instructed an aide to tell her husband to return to some downstairs. Mulroney left little doubt that he was poised to jump into the ring. Longhead, too, sent a huge shadow on the Winnipeg dunes. He told Clark before leaving for Hawaii that unless he could secure more than 60 per cent in the leadership review vote, Clark's power source of action was null for a convention.

Ottawa Premier William Davis was quick to make a public denial of federal ambitions. But in the chaotic, ramshackle atmosphere of the convention scene, many delegates refused to take his word at face value. "My commitment to our leader remains unchanged," he told Ontario Tories at a regional meeting Saturday morning after the vote. As for his Ontario duties, Davis added, "I have an intention of being distracted." At the same time, however, several influential Davis loyalists, including advisors Hugh Sault, Norm Atkins and John Tory, are pushing the premier to take the federal plunge. Worried Clark strategists desperately want to believe that Davis is swayed in his predictions of disaster. Sault one Clark warbler happily. "He's such a Boy Scout that I don't think he would stick his neck out if he meant to go back on his words." The remark sounded more like a wish than a statement.

Windsong Education millionaire Peter Pocklington was emboldened

to grapple a statement shortly as his head with a question. "If he gets the summer, during a cross-country tour, he announced his intention to be a candidate at a convention, Pocklington did not show up in Winnipeg.

Longhead, vacationing in Hawaii since early January, returned this week for a meeting of senior provincial producers in South Carleton, Saskatchewan, on Tuesday and Wednesday, only to be faced with a barrage of questions about his position on the Tory leadership. Although Longhead has said that he supports Clark's leadership, he has never completely dismissed the notion of seeking the federal leadership in the right circumstances. The premier, however, would set stringent terms. He would want a "draft Longhead" movement that was broadly based in the country and he would want a virtual assurance that he would become leader of a party that had a good chance of winning the next federal election. And, although Longhead likely will continue to prefer support for Clark, the strong draft that began almost as soon as the leadership was declared open will force him into serious reconsideration. The premier has frequently refused to give associates that he would rather leave golden security. Indeed, he has indicated that there are others in the party whom he would support for the leadership still, the list of other candidates who enter the race and regional considerations will be factors in his decision.

The West will long resent the fact that Davis sided with the federal government during the energy talks and in the Constitution. Furthermore, in June,

By Jane O'Hara

The morning after Joe Clark, the leader, had been transferred into Joe Clark, the candidate, he told a breakfast meeting of his closest aides. "I will enter the leadership and I will win." Despite the fire in his voice, however, Clark's bold prediction prompted an uncomfortable squaring among the breakfasting army of eager supporters who had spent the past night anxiously waiting and reading opinions on his behalf. The reason even as Clark spoke, new political alliances were forming, and the foundations of his support were eroding.

Suddenly, longtime Clark loyalists like Mulroney's Mike Rupp began to pull support. The pre-convention battle began to swirl from inside. Political workers from other camps, such as Brian Mulroney and worker Peter White, began stalking the corridors looking for Clark defectors. Although publicly many members of Clark's network kept up a facade of continuing support for their chief, privately they were shifting to other camps. The reason was clear: overnight, Clark had gone from leader to liability. Many realized Clark's chances for the leadership were over. Said one of Clark's closest caucus colleagues: "It is a question of self-interest. A lot of us are going to have to decide how much more time we can invest without

running out our careers."

The erosion of support from longtime loyalists is just one of the sobering signs Clark as he negotiates the troubled waters in the months leading up to the leadership convention. When Clark announced Saturday morning that he was resigning the party leadership—the move was mandatory under the Tory constitution—it meant forfeiting the very office that gave him much of his authority. As well, it will mean that Clark, his wife, Margaret, and daughter, Catherine, will have to leave out of Stormont, the leader's official residence, if he is defeated in the leadership race.

Another outlook in the way of a successful Clark comeback, according to Queen's University Prof. George Perlin, is that he has no natural, independent power base in the party. Nor are his tried-and-true supporters possessed of the kind of fanatical loyalty that would sustain him through a bitter, drawn-out campaign. Added to that is the fact that he is encumbered with an apparently unshakable image as a weak leader, exemplified by his inability to prevent the caucus revolt that led to his downfall. Finally, there is the public perception of Clark as a loser. Said Perlin of Clark's chances to win back the top job: "I can't see him having any prospects." Added one of Clark's former lieutenants: "The party does not create vacancies in order to fill them with in-

cumbents." Perlin also predicted that the potentially disastrous Tory caucus, which has been particularly and bitterly divided for the past year, will grow even more divisive as the leadership convention date gets closer. The parliamentary duarney may lead to a sharp drop in the 15-per-cent lead the Tories now enjoy in the Gallup poll, adding a further blow to their hopes of forming the next government.

The man who will suffer most is Joe Clark. Many members question him—or why—Clark could expect himself to even see parental shame, having already faced the worst inheritance of his political career with admirable stoicism. Now Clark's most bitter friends attribute the decision partly to his almost fanatical desire to be prime minister again. Others, less admiring, admit that Clark, who dropped out of law school and has been wedded to politics since boyhood, would have trouble finding another job that would provide him with anything approaching the annual \$105,000 leader's salary and the perks that go with it. For Clark, the fall from grace Friday night is only a temporary way station in his dashed dream for the ultimate position in Canadian politics. For his critics, however, the message delivered by the delegates may be somewhat sterner, sending him in the same place he began his federal parliamentary career—as a leader who from High Street, also

Clark in action in Ottawa: the shifting political sands spell trouble for a leader named leadership candidate



remember laughter) on the man who symbolically raised the tape if he dies, in fact, he ran. Longhair likely will be the last to enter the race. If he decides not to run, he will probably act as he did at the 1976 leadership convention. Then, largely for family considerations, he turned down a strong draft, only to return to Ottawa and with links to smaller camps across the country, and attended the convention without publicly throwing his support to any candidate.

Other potential contenders also showed their way onto the stage. The party's public service critic, Toronto MP Richard Stinson, said he might run, although in 1976 he was eliminated after the first of four ballots. Party president Peter Blais, a tall and confident Montreal lawyer, brushed reporters away with the statement: "Don't even bother to turn on your tape recorders. All I'll say is 'no' because there were nice suggestions that Vancouver alderman Pat Gurney might stand to ensure that a woman is in the race, if Flora MacDonald does not run."

The party's former spokesman, Michael Wilson, said he was not shocked by Clark's decision that he had given no consideration to his own future plan in the party. But he has a following in the business community and among some parliamentarians. Everyone seemed to have a favorite would-be contender. The only ingredient missing initially was someone with the daring to become Clark's first formal challenger.

For his part, Clark made it clear he was open to a strong gain that he was in the leadership race to win. "I will be a candidate," he asserted his disappointed supporters, who were still wiping away tears as he climbed down from the podium after his historic announcement. The next morning, in quick succession, he announced that he was resigning as both leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition and leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada—decisions that effectively will deny his access to the party's bank account. Clark had no choice under party rules. They had decreed that left delegates meeting on Saturday, af-

ter a few hours' sleep and a meeting with Alberta Tories, Clark said, "I intend to resign so that I can become an unfettered candidate for the leadership."

In the chilly concrete convention centre the night before, Clark was the object of warmth. His foes were an audience as his friends. No one, it seemed, was left unmoved by Clark's gritty decision to step down from the \$18,000-a-year job he fought hard to win seven years ago and which he belatedly tarted in the tumultuous six years since. No one outside Clark's innermost circle really knew the agony he suffered in Winnipeg. He moved in a protective casing of jokes, friends and security men.



Devils at this convention: support for the leader, but an opening rift.

When the inner circle came to comfort Clark in his holiday his wife after the vote, there was hugs and tears. The atmosphere reminded one supporter of a funeral gathering. Neither Clark nor workers quite knew what to say to each other, and there was really nothing to be said.

Earlier in the week Clark at a brisk, confident pace LaMacorne whisked him from a \$750-a-night suite on the 20th floor of the Wexlin Hotel through a series of carefully spaced and selected events at the convention centre. As he swept in and out of receptions and speeches, he occasionally stopped to shake hands with delegates. But under the innocent glare of the television lights, conversation was all but impossible.

The embattled leader arrived in Winnipeg late Wednesday on a flight so jammed with young Tory delegates that two passengers were busied off in Toronto. He was greeted in the convention city by a beaming Lyle Bupp, who had arranged for a five-piece band and an embossed cap of teenagers in button tops and green shirts. Clark opened the convention the next morning with a low-key, 10-minute speech. Then he rushed off to meet the top journalists of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which had given him a glowing editorial endorsement the previous day. Clark was surprisingly relaxed during the 90-minute meeting. He leaned back in his chair with a hand clasped behind his head, chatting comfortably about topics ranging from the need to allow the testing of cruise missiles in Alberta to the possibility of working with the Parti Québécois government in Quebec.

He landed in his hotel room, working on the speech he would deliver at a PC youth conference dinner later that day and spent part of the afternoon mulling campaign and theme at a friendly reception for delegates from his home riding of Yellowhead. His dinner speech contained one of Clark's well-known character traits. He began by reading his prepared text in stentorian, unbusinesslike tones. Then a young heckler interrupted, boasting that he—unlike Clark—had managed to finish his school (Clark dropped out of law at Dalhousie University after one unhappy year). The challenge brought Clark to life. He replied curtly—and with an indignant note at lawyer-like Maureen—Clark, mused as a few degrees might be, it was no pretension of good judgment. The heckler, with a speech with a spirited appeal to the young Tories to see their energy to fight the Liberals, not squabble among themselves.

The next morning Clark suited through a supportive breakfast at the women's caucus then moved to his hotel room, where he met briefly with a few advisers. After they left, Clark donned a maroon cardigan, ordered a bottle of Perrier water from room service, and began the last revision to his speech. An aide asked a hotel staffer in the hallway if Clark could communicate. His

embattled leader arrived in Winnipeg late Wednesday on a flight so jammed with young Tory delegates that two passengers were busied off in Toronto. He was greeted in the convention city by a beaming Lyle Bupp, who had arranged for a five-piece band and an embossed cap of teenagers in button tops and green shirts. Clark opened the convention the next morning with a low-key, 10-minute speech. Then he rushed off to meet the top journalists of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, which had given him a glowing editorial endorsement the previous day. Clark was surprisingly relaxed during the 90-minute meeting. He leaned back in his chair with a hand clasped behind his head, chatting comfortably about topics ranging from the need to allow the testing of cruise missiles in Alberta to the possibility of working with the Parti Québécois government in Quebec.



Diefenbaker controlling Camp and Stanfield: a party success but with a just 16 years

outskirts, far from the meeting hall. Inside, supporters of the leader packed the front rows, cheering lustily and waving their banners in a vain attempt to make a grain reality. The man at the centre of the storm knew that he was in the light of his political life when he stepped to the podium and declared, "Let us start fighting those who stand against us—not those who stand with us." The date was not Jan. 26, 1963, in Winnipeg. It was Nov. 14, 1966, in Ottawa, and two days later the Progressive Conservative party set out on John Goebs Diefenbaker.

Some 1,000 delegates dealt their proud cheer a blow that was even more pointed than Joe Clark's booming last week. The Tories of 1966 rejected the Chief's assumed candidate for the party

## The renegades out of power

By Robert Lawton

proximity and, instead, chose Toronto advertising executive Dallas Camp. On top of that, they backed Camp's call for a leadership convention in 1967 by a 5-1 margin. Camp, the mastermind of the "Damp Die" fiasco, they also named 27-year-old Joe Clark—had a long drive back to his hotel on that November night. But he went with a song in his heart.

Ahead lay another campaign—one in which Camp would promote over the team that elected Nova Scotia Premier

winnings has survived the turbulent Tory party—delegates, he declared in 1968, were as good as "the constant warring of public man."

The squares were restless in the Chateau Laurier Hotel ballroom in 1966. Diefenbaker seemed unlikely to rally support. He jabbed an accusatory finger at Camp and, as the opposing forces debated him, Diefenbaker chuckled. "Is this a Conservative meeting? No leader can stand if he has to turn around to find which tripping team from behind." Joe Clark evoked the same sentiment in Winnipeg, but the pins failed again. Both men vowed to stand as candidates to succeed themselves—and to block the forces of reaction that, they charged, were attempting to subvert the party of all Canadians.

The Tories of 1966 were no mass sanguine about the assembly public bloodletting that they were in 1963. The delegates in Ottawa could sense a stirring in the Liberal ranks. The 45-year-old pioneer of health in Lester Pearson's cabinet, Allan Rock, stood the side and preaching the revitalization of a weary party. In Quebec reformers argued a new wing—including the newly elected Pierre Trudeau, Grand Patriote and Jean Marchand. Some Tories even feared that Pearson might go to the polls while they were choosing their leader.

Canadian political history runs deep in irony and it abounds with abrupt shifts in fortune. In 1966, the new star, best Diefenbaker loyalist was Yukon MP Erik Nielsen, now closely linked to Clark. The passage of time also gives way to new standards for political success. Camp's review campaign is usually regarded as an irritating blunder. In reality, he claimed the presidency over Diefenbaker knight Arthur Mackenzie with 129 per cent of the vote, compared to 47.1 for the Toronto lawyer. In Winnipeg, Camp emerged as a viable Clark booster, but he too ended with the 49.9 per cent, now counted as the defeated. The margins were not enough, mainly because the Clark forces themselves defied the measure of success as being considerably more than that. And to explain all political fortunes, Camp declared, "I am wrong, but the real penalties of political life are not the date of the declaration. Sept. 30, 1966.

Robert Stanfield as Diefenbaker's replacement. Clark and his longtime backroom friend Lowell Murray would later the defeated camp of former minister David Fulton as chief of staff and Clark as executive assistant. Fiers MacDonald, whom Diefenbaker unconsciously named from PC headquarters in 1966, would join Stanfield the next year as a key member of the leadership campaign.

For the moment, however, Camp could savor his victory in Ottawa. He had admonished delegates during his pre-election speech that "a lot of people want to belong to a party for mere reasons than just beating the Grits." Clark did not exactly revive the message 18 years later, but one of Camp's other

mood, according to principal secretary Peter Hawker, was almost uncharacteristically calm and fatalistic. "I think he's eager to have the vote and get it over with," Hawker told Clark's assistant, Fowler MacDonald, as the two rode down on the elevator. MacDonald, 80, a veteran of many conventions, grunted sleepily.

There was never a moment of doubt that Clark's Friday night speech was the main event. The Tory leader had been trying with phlegm and close since Jan. 8, when he returned from his Conservative victory in the Bahamas. But the serious writing began two weeks before the convention. The speech was a composite of the ideas and suggestions of no fewer than 55 top Tory advisers, including Paddy MacDonald, national campaign chairman and longtime friend Lowell Murray, House leader Rolf Nelson, Clark's 36-year-old speech writer, Ian Shugart, and his biographer, Christopher Lasch. MacDonald, another contributor, was the Tory leader's former chief of staff. William Neville, now a vice-president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. But Clark himself, with feedback and a tape recorder, perfected the final phrases just hours before the vote.

He had learned the hard way to se-

cept advice about crucial speeches. Two years ago, at the last leadership review vote, Clark rejected a bare-bones of a text written by the politically astute Neville, complaining that it was too tough and that it sounded too strident. Instead, Clark sat down at the typewriter himself, as the hour of darkness neared, and composed his own text—a softer, more statesmanlike address. Virtually every delegate at the 1981 convention complained that the speech was flat and uninspiring. In Winnipeg, he realized, there could be no such restraint. Clark knew he had to deliver with all guns blazing.

And he did. Clark dealt with the leadership issue boldly and directly. "My friends," he declared, "either we clear the air tonight or we set aside another year for Conservatives fighting Conservatives instead of fighting the Liberals and the vote." Showing to make himself heard over the applause and chants, Clark declared that he desired to be confirmed as leader. He had managed to keep his fractious party together for seven years—"most of the time"—and he had been an effective Opposition leader, despite having to deal with constant electoral setbacks and internal squabbles.

The atmosphere in the convention hall was as electric that Clark's words almost did not matter. Young Clark's

affairs filled the front rows and, checked into the air, their radio erupted with thunderous, rhythmic cheers of "Joe, Joe, Joe." Anti-Clark delegates, seated in a cluster just to the right of the stage, were drowned out each time they began to jeer and hiss. After a quiet, agonizingly slow two days of soul-searching, the exposed emotions of the convention finally burst out. Clark's supporters roared about the speech, and even his critics conceded that he had hit all the right—and true—notes. He promised to take a tough line with union and its tradition of backroom rebellions. He frankly admitted that he had made mistakes in the past—"I've pulled some real changes"—but reminded his critics that he had been a prime minister, unlike all but one of his opponents. To order to the top job in his lifetime. "It was a good speech. It addressed all the issues," said top Liberal strategist Gordon Ashworth, who attended the convention as a guest. "It was a superb effort," muttered a chief Clark lieutenant, Calgary's Jeanne Andre.

But at times the party seemed to have more life in its belly than the leader. Still, as Ashworth noted, the Winnipeg meeting had in such an unexpected and unexpected challenge that he would never allow Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to deliver a crucial leadership speech there. "So I would say Clark did

pretty well," Ashworth admitted. "I'd give him a seven"—conveniently overlooking Clark's people assigned to his harshest opponents in their computerized delegate profile.

What went wrong? Clark rightly had nothing but praise for his 250-member network of convention strategists. "They did almost everything right in terms of organizing a convention," said Liberal Ashworth. "Mr. Clark deserves great marks for leading the best political party in the country."

But there were flaws in the master plan. One was the treatment of Quebec delegates. Party functionaries set up a formidable series of obstacles for the 200 anti-Clark voters that discomforted national vice-president Jean-Yves Lortie brought to Winnipeg. First, their names somehow could not be found in the convention. Then, records of their contributions for payments mysteriously were not available. In the end, some weary and angry Quebecers made four trips to the registration desk before they finally received the credentials. Mulroney arrived in the thick of the fray and thundered, "Why ask these delegates to come to Winnipeg in January if



Thankful Clark supporters felt seemed so certain and close.

you're going to treat them like the dirty dogs?" Mulroney pointedly blamed Clark's workers, not the leader himself. The Clark forces may have lacked passion but they were efficient and scouted. The convention centre three floors above the convention floor contained an elaborate paging system, charts showing the lineups of every riding and gallery of coffee. A group of

38 national co-ordinators of the Clark team gathered daily for a breakfast meeting, made their reports, then fanned out to talk to delegates. One top organizer, communications specialist Judi White, approached a "soft" delegate and commented loudly, "I hear you haven't made up your mind about the leadership question." The delegate, shocked that his message was known, asked White the source of his information. "I haven't been doing this for eight months for nothing," she replied.

The tactics did not always succeed. A youth delegate from London reported that members of his group had their arms twisted instead of their ears bent. Bruce Levitt and 25 friends were pinned up to the Clark team's command centre, where

Calgary's Jeanne Hawker told them that, if they could not rally around the leader, they could "find another party." Hawker, said Levitt, warned that their hearings would be remembered long after the convention. Levitt said Hawker told him that if he voted against Clark, and if the party broke out ahead of him, he would come after you with a baseball bat. The anti-Clark forces, in contrast,

## Introducing a whole new class of roomy, quality engineered front-wheel-drive cars.

Exciting. With exceptional maneuverability and fuel efficiency. That's what the new class of front-wheel-drive is all about. That's the new Chrysler E Class.

A product of proven front-wheel drive technology. Powered by the 2.2 litre OHC engine that is the best ever produced by Chrysler. New 312 cc technology that results in an automobile of unprecedented quality.

Inside, the Chrysler tradition of unparalleled over-the-road comfort continues with all the spacious luxury you'd expect. And with fuel economy that you wouldn't expect of a six passenger car. Using lower priced regular leaded gas.

Buy or lease 1983 Chrysler E Class Sedan. And soon a distinctive new front-wheel-drive Chrysler New Yorker and Chrysler Executive Sedan.

The new class of spacious elegance is Chrysler E Class.

**NO COST PROTECTION 5 YEARS OR 60,000 km**  
1. Engine and Powertrain Protection  
2. Outer Panel Anti-Corrosion Protection  
See dealer for details

See terms illustrated on most new Chrysler vehicles.



Quality engineered to be the best.

Yes!

# THE NEW 1983 CHRYSLER E CLASS

CHRYSLER E CLASS SEDAN—Automatic Transmission

8.2 L/100 km CITY/HWY

40 MPG HWY

28 MPG CITY

REGULAR LEADED GAS

1983 Chrysler Canada Fuel Economy. See message magazine.

rolled on posters, public relations glitz-clocks and mysterious badlines slipped under hotel room doors. One of their more subtle symbols was the button bearing the number 7—the worst lottery riding in the Clark team's compilation system.

The news from outside farming led many Right-leaning members back to the caucus. One of their main frustrations about the direction of the party. They were also disgruntled by Clark's leadership and they doubted that the PCs could win the next federal election with Clark at the helm. In June Piddington started to recruit for a caucus in July he announced a plan for a countrywide, \$30,000 speaking tour covering more than 20 cities. While Piddington garnered attention at Chamber of Commerce meetings, his director of corporate planning, William Campbell, 26, maneuvered the depth of dissatisfaction within Tory ranks. Campbell, who was an alternate delegate, accurately predicted the outcome.

Toronto public relations consultant John Morrison opened his campaign for a leadership review in August. He sent 50,000 letters to businessmen in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario. The scattered opposition forces drew built from the public utterances of such rebellious caucus members as Otto Jelinek and Elmer Mackay.

But long after the event and far beyond the reaches of either Winnipeg or the Progressive Conservative party, last weekend's drama will change the political landscape. Aswold said it is a "reasonable assumption" that Prime Minister Trudeau will postpone his already long-delayed retirement plans until the Tories receive their leadership dilemma. And at least two provincial governments—Ontario and Alberta—could be plunged into uncertainty if their leaders decide to set their sights on Ottawa. Meanwhile, Piddington's attack on Clark over five months of halfhearted opposition as the Tories search for their 19th leader.

After Clark stepped off the podium at the conclusion of Friday night's drama, he entered the party at the Holiday Inn, smiling broadly, but Maureen was fighting back the tears.

By morning the mood had changed. The agony of indecision was gone. Campaign plans were being devised, and the air was full of speculation and dreams of a new, perfect leader. And Maureen had regained her fighting spirit. "I have no more tears left," she said simply.

With her husband, Gordon, James O'Hara and Peter Coughlin-Dugan in Winnipeg, Mary Jackson is in Ottawa. Graham Mackay and Barbara Engelen in Toronto.

## The Grits gain some time

The turmoil over the Conservative party leadership means short-term gain and probably long-term peril for the honored federal Liberal Senator. Senior strategists felt that the party would have a better chance of winning the next election if the Conservatives decided to stick with Joe Clark. In contrast, the benefits to the Liberals of a Tory leadership race are decidedly mixed. In the short term, the public may pay less attention to Liberal

contenders, grandstanding and squabble behind him or her. "During this next period, the Liberals have to buck off the National Energy Program and Steno-Adventurism to a much higher deficit," says one Liberal business strategist. "And, during this whole crucial phase of readjusting, the Opposition is simply not going to be there."

In the long term, however, a new Tory leader will cause big changes and probably big problems for the nervous Liberals. An issue as the Tory leadership is unsettled, pressure will abruptly increase on Pierre Trudeau to step down. Paradoxically, Trudeau's job is safe in the interval—since the Liberals will not want to change leaders until they know who they will have to face. As long as Clark endures on the job, the prime minister was safe from direct assault because Clark's personal popularity rating has never been as met for his party. "Clark would forever carry all the people's doubts," reasoned a senior Liberal. "Some voters would never have voted for Clark, but against Trudeau. Now the Tories are getting a real shot at getting someone that the voters would vote for."

Many Liberals around strategist Senator Keith Dwyer view Quebec lawyer Bruce McMillen as the most threatening leadership contender. The glamorous McMillen is literally bilingual—and that could spell the end of the 14-seat Quebec Liberal base. Although Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed is viewed as another powerful issue, his Alberta base is not a Liberal stronghold. Many Liberals feel that if the Tories select either Lougheed or McMillen, the liberals will stampede toward former finance minister John Turner in any leadership showdown. Because only Turner is perceived to have the glasses and conservatism to counter their claims.

The Liberals' long-term hopes really rest, however, on the Tory prebent for minority Strategists believe that the two-thirds of the delegates who opposed a convention are already angry—because the minority view prevailed. And they point out that the votes from the 1987 caucus of former Conservative leader John Diefenbaker have still not been counted. "The Devils did it but when they named the Wood King over," said Liberal party president Lena Campagnolo last week. If the Liberals—and history—are right, the Tories could fight each other throughout the next election campaign and well into a troubled future.

—MARY JARVIS in Ottawa

## PEOPLE

The dark looked golden for Edmonstone's debut in the Alberta Ballet Company's *Macbeth*. A student-artist, *Macbeth* costumed and set for \$20,000 to design 80 costumes and the sets for a new, full-length production of *Macbeth*. And, while artistic director *Edmonstone* saw the completed weeks last November, he heartily approved of the surrealistic and elaborate designs. But then Pidge discovered that they would cost about \$80,000 in material and labor. Last month Pidge covered the relationship, claiming that Cranston had been aware of financial matters (the total costume budget is \$15,000) but was too busy performing to adapt his new designs. Cranston, who is busy now preparing his new skating show, Joe, for its opening on Feb. 8 at the Radio City Music Hall in New York City, says he discussed the production with Pidge in great detail at the outset. "I said, 'The only way you can attract attention is to create perfect stage, because your dancers are not good enough.' They said, 'Yes, we agree.' Cranston is not harboring any hard feelings for the company, though. I have been invited to design *The Princess and the Pea* for the Maastricht Opera. I think they have the money."

Throughout her 15-year career in the civil service, consultant Sylvia Swire has rarely been out of the public eye. Last week the future of the former Ottawa senator, who has served since 1986 as chief economist for the Parliament of Ontario for *Environment and Development*, was the subject of a veritable whirlwind of rumors. During a brief Toronto stopover, Swire told *Weekend* that she will leave the prestigious Paris post by this summer and is considering "a wide range" of jobs. One option would be to return to the federal bureaucracy. But political life in Ottawa was scarce, especially since one made-in-Ottawa post, deputy minister of finance, went to Marshall (Mick) Cohen last fall. It has been learned that Cohen was contacted by the University of Toronto's new president, but not by Donald Fisher. Some insiders predict that she will take over from Hugh Mackay as chairman of Ontario Hydro when he leaves this March. Swire denied the rumors but she did say that she risked the prospect of moving closer to her husband, Bernard Swire, another



former Ottawa vice president currently serving as Ontario's deputy minister of industry and trade. "My husband and I are very close," says Swire. "I'm looking forward to ending this business of living over for a day at a time." The "at" word is certain to come up with plenty of suggestions for her in the weeks ahead.

Edmonstone artist Peter Lewis' latest work shows almost unrecognizable, but nobody—not even the Canada Council, which has granted him \$12,500—doubts that it can be accomplished. "It's a bigger project than the painting of the *Sinatra Chapel*," says the proud artist of his 14,000-km "contact the land" project. Lewis' work is a large metal-shaped pile of wood placed 32 km apart across seven provinces and 17 states. On Jan. 7, 1986, at 4,500 stacks will be set along the Atlantic coast.

Pidge (above) Cranston (above), Coughlin and White (below) pre-conceptualize



Many Canadians travel south in the winter to take advantage of the sun and fun. Bruce Coughlin and Nancy White have quite a different objective. The two 37-year-old Toronto songwriter-performers leave in mid-February for a two-week tour of Nicaragua and the refuge camps of southern Mexico, where an estimated 30,000 Guatemalans barely manage to

subsist. Coughlin-Canada, sponsor of the trip, hopes that when they return Coughlin and White can raise the awareness of the public by inspiring on television or in the *World* some. Both freely admit to some pre-conceived notions about the Latin American government of Nicaragua. Says Coughlin generously "I can't deny that I hope to move away with my sympathy for the Sandinista effort. When I see people who have suffered under dictatorship, then appear to have thrown off tyranny, I say, 'Good.' White is curious about the lot of women in the wake of the revolution. 'I want to see if the men have been able to suppress their enthusiasm over the past three years,' she says. 'I doubt it.' If that is the case, the women who do may have some

—EDITED BY BARBARA BOOTHMAN

# Shifting to the centre

By Michael Posner

When President Ronald Reagan delivered his annual State of the Union message to Congress last week, it contained few hints that his administration is moved in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Instead, Reagan delivered a distinctly upbeat view of the nation's fortunes to his immediate audience and to the 20 million watching him on television. For one thing, he saluted as a model the recent steady improvement designed to avert the U.S. social security system from collapse. "Let us in the next two years—men and women of both parties and every political shade—monotone on the long-range bipartisan responsibilities of government, not the short-term temptations of partisan politics," Reagan declared.

It was a surprisingly bland performance, especially for a president facing a 10-to-per-cent unemployment rate and a miserably slowing in current prices (a 28-per-cent approval rating, according to *Newsweek*, his lowest point ever). At the same time, a mainstream school of Capitol Hill sharks, who sense Reagan's increasing vulnerability, are closing in for the kill. Two years ago the president vowed to use his office as a pulpit to rally Americans and to pledge to balance the federal budget by curbing the intrusive force of government. Last week, staring at projected deficits in excess of \$200 billion, the affable old executive was his longest apologetic for a completely conflicting view. "We in government must take the lead in restoring the economy," said Reagan.

The State of the Union message contained only a faint hint of broadly stated remedies for the United States' ills. The centrist, as it is first proposed by Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Frank Lautenberg, is an overall budget freeze that would limit increases in government spending to about five per cent—the expected rate of inflation. But the freeze is selective. Although Reagan promised cuts of \$55 billion in military programs during a five-year period, the fiscal 1984 budget statu-

ment—which will be sent to Congress this week—actually proposes a near-per-cent increase in Pentagon spending. As a result, the freeze would be accomplished by cutting social programs, which the president still maintains are "the largest single cause of the built-in, or structural, deficit." At the same



Reagan addresses Congress: a surprisingly bland mix

time, the administration wants to freeze all federal salaries for one year. In the highly unlikely event that Congress accepts the proposal, the 1984 deficit will still approach an awesome \$200 billion.

In fact, Reagan's appeal for bipartisan compromise is a clear sign that he is prepared to surrender on some of the more cherished noncooperative economic stances. Conservatives insist that pay-slash-side economic policies were never really tried. But to the degree that they were employed, the programs have clearly failed to avert the economy. With interest rates falling and inventories nearly all absorbed, a necessity of some sort now appears to be nec-

essary. But the real danger now is that huge federal deficits will choke the spending—liberal, at least, in the conservative—or that a period of easier money will rekindle the inflation of earlier years.

Democratic House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill was quick to denounce as off-the-wall suggestion by Reagan to Republican businessmen later in the week that corporate taxes should be abolished. O'Neill said it would add \$98 billion to the deficit. For his part, Reagan, who is abating the subject had said, "I'll probably back away" for making the remark, quickly backtracked.

The president's argument that uncontrolled spending on social programs is the main cause of the deficit is widely accepted. But it would take a truly bipartisan effort to tackle the politically distasteful reform of such traditional policies.

Such an effort is not likely to be made, especially in the 98th Congress, which has a strong Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Not only that, but the Democrats are ready to take the offense against a president weakened by the odds and by the conservatives' over-taxes that he has already had to make. And they are planning to push him into more troubled political waters with an emergency job-creation bill and an attack on both the 20-per-cent tax cut, which takes effect in July, and the twinning-out for 1985. Those measures will pass in the House, may stumble in the Senate, and will probably face a presidential veto when they reach the White House.

Reitering his third year, Reagan is now assailed from both the left—for too many guns and not enough health—and from the right—for abandoning the conservative agenda. Signed New York week. "We had I could have sworn that he would stay the course." The president's future success now hangs on his ability to forge a coalition of political centers, as the possibility that the conservatives are again wrong in their predictions. All the time he will have to play the role of bipartisanship and hope that the time is selective. O-



Israeli troops occupying Lebanon: 'our aim is for maximum security'

## THE MIDDLE EAST

### Mubarak issues a warning

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak outlined in the night midday man outside the Oval Office last week, and in his nearly full-length book's postscript he delivered a warning that was at least as clear as the Washington weather. Said the president: "I believe that a golden opportunity exists, and it would be a grave mistake to miss it." Stripped of its diplomatic sheen, the message was a direct one: time is running out for Israeli efforts to present a lasting settlement in the volatile region.

But the Reagan proposal, which would turn most of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip into a Jordanian-Palestinian condominium, cannot succeed without the early participation of Jordan's King Hussein. And as far as Mubarak has been unable to gain an agreement from either Saudi Arabia or the Palestine Liberation Organization that would enable him to join a new round of peace talks. Still, some analysts believe that he may close to an accord as soon as he will announce a breakthrough early next month. But Arab agreement to Hussein's participation will likely be conditional on an Israeli decision to first withdraw their forces from southern Lebanon and freeze their settlement program in the West Bank. And it is precisely these conditions—and the probability of Israeli accepting them—that threaten to tarnish what Mubarak considers a "golden opportunity."

The situation in Lebanon is extremely complex. The governing coalition of Christians and Muslims is vulnerable. The Lebanese army is a hollow shell, torn by factional feuding. At the same time, there are 30,000 Israeli soldiers in the north, 30,000 Syrians in the north and east, as well as an estimated 1,000 PLO guerrillas behind Syrian lines. In fact, Lebanon has already been virtually partitioned.

The Iraqi-Banadese, Israeli and U.S. talks aimed at securing foreign force withdrawals have produced an agenda, topics for discussion and subcommittees, but few concrete results. The present impasse is rooted in Jerusalem's demand for as many as five intelligence missions in the north, manned by an all-Israeli army contingent and intended to guard against Palestinian infiltration. The Lebanese have said that such missions should be manned either by U.S. troops or by forces loyal to the central command that such personnel would be ineffective. "Our aim is maximum security," say Israeli negotiators last week. "If someone proposes another means by which we can achieve the same result, we shall have to examine it." A

senior Israeli official on the fate of Maj. Sa'ad Haddad's Christian militia in the north. Israel wants his forces integrated into whatever Lebanese security framework emerges. But Beirut considers Haddad a renegade.

Because some fear for Israel's withdrawal is said to be essential if Haddad is to join the peace talks, the sluggish pace of negotiations has frustrated the Reagan administration and placed new strains on U.S.-Israeli relations. As a result, Washington has recently fired several verbal fusillades, blaming Jerusalem for tensions between its 1,200 marines deployed in Beirut and the Israeli Defense Forces past south of the city. It has also denied indirectly Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's long-scheduled trip to Washington. U.S. officials believe that a summit with Reagan would become hopelessly entangled in Lebanese issues without ever addressing the broader question of the president's initiative. Not only that, but in an little-remembered state department memo, the administration said that it would consider shortening the five-year autonomy period for a self-governing Palestinian authority on the West Bank, as mandated by the Camp David accords. That change, said the U.S. government, is viewed as a further attempt to lure Haddad into the peace process.

Reagan, too, is under great pressure to make headway on the issues. As a state department official noted last week, "This is January, 1983—1984 is a year away. This time, many have concluded a certain political reality: a presidential election year, so U.S. chief executives can afford bold foreign policy adventures. At last, Washington has 12 months to make progress. But the Lebanese stalemate persists. The Americans have lost confidence in the Western diplomat in Beirut summoned last week. Too much time has passed. Indeed, it is the Israelis who now control the process, militarily and politically. Time is on their side, and the growing rift between PLO supporters of Yasser Arafat and the hard-line opponents of his strategy may yet paralyze the Arab world. Still, Washington remains aggressive that the Reagan plan has a chance of success. But, the House Mubarak's visit into the January sees, the times have begun to show.

—MICHAEL POSNER is in Washington, with Peter Wright in Beirut. Eric Silver is Jerusalem.

Mubarak: golden opportunity







Haughey: allegations of wire taps, secret recordings, a slash fund, a Deep Throat

#### IRELAND

## All the prime minister's men

Every political tempest since Waterville seems to have been awarded the suffix "gate." But the Irish Republic is the first nation since Richard Nixon's downfall to come up with a scandal truly worthy of the appellation. The republic's *L'Erepress*, named after Dublin's *Talley News*, has it all: telephone taps, secretly taped meetings, a slash fund, a Deep Throat and a shaken political party whose senior members are implicated. *Fauna Fild* leader and former prime minister Charles Haughey last week managed to fight off suggestions that he was involved. But so much dirty Irish linen has already been aired that the party has launched an internal inquiry. Concerned *Fauna Fild*'s Liam Byrd "I met lifetime party members who were asked to go to prison last Sunday."

Already there have been casualties in the two weeks since the government of Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald (who defeated Haughey in Jan. November a general election) confirmed reports of police wrangling directed by Haughey's justice minister, Sean Doherty. Patrick McLoughlin, chief of the Garda Síochána, Ireland's police force, and his security-conscious deputy, "Two Gars" Joe Ahern, were the first to resign in the ongoing uproar. Then the former deputy prime minister, Ray MacSharry, and Doherty himself were forced to resign from Haughey's front-bench team. The scandal first broke when the Garda tried to transfer a policeman,

Sgt. Thomas Tully, out of Doherty's active column of Noncommunist Tully applied, charging that he had been moved because he cracked down on after-hours drinking by *Fauna Fild* supporters. The appeals board reinstated Tully. Afterward, published reports about the Tully case prompted a Deep Throat-style informer inside the Garda to call with even more damning information. He alleged that the police were involved in politically motivated tagging of politicians and journalists' telephones.

Still, what caused the most damage to *Fauna Fild* was the discovery that MacSharry obtained a police tape recorder last October with Ahern's help so that he could take down a conversation with a fellow party member who swore loyalty to Haughey as to question. Among the topics discussed was the cost of a \$225,000 gift to MacSharry if he withdrew his support for Haughey. MacSharry says he was outraged by rumors that he sold Haughey money and that his loyalty could be bought. "I did it to protect my good name," MacSharry insists.

To *Fauna Fild* members, however, the party's reputation is of greater consequence. For his part, Haughey insists that he knew nothing that he could do to prevent the damage to *Fauna Fild*'s credibility the party may yet have to take the scandal to its final parallel with Watergate and seek the former premier's resignation.

—BRANDON KIRKMAN is Dublin.

#### BOLIVIA

## Time runs out for The Butcher

During his 20 years of Bolivian rule, Nazi war criminal Klaus Altman rarely had to be concerned that his past might catch up with him. A trained friend of the military rulers in La Paz, he made a fortune from trafficking in cocaine. In 1978, when French authorities sought extradition of the man they call "The Butcher of Lyons," he created the whole affair with contempt. "I was a soldier, and war is war," he declared. And the Bolivian Supreme Court ruled against the application—on the grounds that Altman was a Bolivian citizen. Then, last week Altman's protective shield was pierced. A new civilian government in La Paz, led by President Hernán Siles Zuazo, jailed Altman after he was charged first with a minor offense, then with using money from the sale of cocaine to finance a group of former Nazi sympathizers. And Bolivian Foreign Minister Mario Velarde Derossi indicated that the government attacks are a prelude to Altman's extradition to face trial for his earlier transgressions.

Altman's role during the war was a particularly revolting one. As chief of a 120-man Gestapo unit formed to bound resistance fighters and Jews, Klaus Barbie (his real name) is alleged to have personally dispatched 400 murders and shipped another 1,500 people to concentration camps between 1942 and 1945. After the war a French court sentenced Barbie to death in absentia. For his part in the murder of Jean Moulin, the country's greatest Resistance hero.

Just last March Barbie escaped capture and turned up in La Paz in 1982 as Klaus Altman, has never been fully explained. But he has involvement in a 1971 coup d'état which brought Gen. Hugo Banzer to power that first alerted the French to Barbie's whereabouts. An intriguing French agent in La Paz urged Peru to check Altman's identity. Peru replied that Altman was Barbie.

Afterward, frequent French and West German applications for Barbie's return, repeatedly fendered on the grounds of his nationality. But a few changed his position after Siles Zuazo's arrival in power last October. Then, last week, as the 50th anniversary of Hitler's accession to power neared, legal aid in La Paz indicated that the Bolivian court may act as early as this week to force Altman's extradition. Whatever the immediate verdict, it seems certain that The Butcher's long flight from his past will soon crash.

—PETER LEWIS is Brussels.



#### THE SOVIET UNION

## Keeping the pressure on

Soviet leader Yuri Andropov seemed uncharacteristically cathartic. In a letter to French Communist chief Georges Marchais, Andropov hinted that imprisoned Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky could earn a reduction in his 13-year sentence, which he began serving in 1978, and possibly even his freedom. But Andropov's vague promise carried a condition. The case would only be reconsidered if Western activists ceased their "dirty campaign" to free him. And last week Shcharansky's friends with Avital, noted what has proven to be an enduring and embarrassing time for the Kremlin. During visits to Ottawa and New York, an obviously grieving, but defiant, Avital declared that she did not believe that a suspension of Western pressure would do anything for her 30-year-old husband. "In 1981 I stayed home and did nothing," she said, "and nothing happened."

In that, there is little reason to accept Andropov's suggestion that he might release the Soviet Union's most famous dissident, who is accused of spying for the United States. For one thing, the Kremlin is in the process of cracking down on its few remaining opponents within the country in the early days of winter, who with the longtime head of the state before his succession. For another, if the new Kremlin leader bows to Western pressure, it would be an acknowledgment that Shcharansky's trial was a fraud. For the Soviet leadership,

such an action would represent an acceptance of his loss of face.

Meanwhile, Shcharansky's health, according to his wife and his mother, Ida Mikhren, is deteriorating. Daily Benches in Christopri prison, a barometer rising 800 km east of Moscow, Shcharansky began a hunger strike last September to protest against the suspension of all contact with his family and the confiscation of his prayer book and other religious articles. In one of the last letters his relatives received, he said that he had been kept in solitary confinement for 185 consecutive days, and fed only half-rations. As Shcharansky's hunger strike stretched on, his sympathizers began to fear for his life, particularly because of his history of heart and blood pressure problems. Then, when it was learned that he was being force-fed, anxiety heightened because of the potentially damaging effects that he might be having on a man weakened by months of fasting.

In his letter to Marchais, Andropov claimed that Shcharansky had ended his hunger strike after four months and that Mikhren had been allowed to visit him in his cell. But both claims were disputed by Avital.

#### Cosider (left), Shcharansky's latest hope

ta's lawyer, McGill professor Irvin Collier, who accompanied her to Ottawa last week for a 30-minute meeting with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. As a press conference Collier said that Shcharansky's 35-year-old mother had camped for 10 days outside the prison without seeing her son. And visitors had blocked out his lines from a 24-hour letter sent by Shcharansky to his mother in mid-January. As a result, the mother did not indicate whether or not he had ended his hunger strike.

Both Collier and Avital, who received a standing ovation in the House of Commons, said they believed that continued international pressure is the only way to force the Kremlin to ease the restrictions on Shcharansky and possibly get him released. Declared Avital, "Anatoly is in bad health. If he has the courage to fight from there, he is sending us the message that we have to continue the fight." Collier, who has been involved in the movement to support Soviet dissidents for years, delivered a similar message. Contesting Shcharansky's original conviction, he added that the dissident "presents no threat to the security and well-being of the Soviet Union."

These pleas are unlikely to be effective. For one thing, last September a Canadian parliamentary delegation visited Moscow to raise the question of Soviet compliance with the Helsinki accords, which stipulated that dissidents must be given the right to discuss the Shcharansky case on the grounds that he was a criminal and should be treated as such. Then, in January two other dissidents—American Roy McVicker and Norwegian Geir Vilander, who received a warm reception—had a meeting with Western politicians and diplomats—were warned by the authorities to "cease hostile activities." The threats followed the arrest of 500 lesser-known Kremlin opponents and relatives accused during the past two years of "hostile acts."

But the Kremlin has choked migration—a case that Shcharansky had been campaigning when he was arrested—back to 30 people a month from a 1979 peak of 4,000 a month. In that kind of atmosphere, Shcharansky's hopes for freedom, even with Western pressure, are reduced to zero.

—JARED MITCHELL is Toronto, with Julie Anne Dumas in Ottawa, Anne Aronson in Montreal and correspondents' reports.



# THE GROWTH-EDGE

## **Oil and Gas**

PanCanadian  
Petroleum Limited

## **Mines and Minerals**

Cominco Ltd.  
Fording Coal Limited  
Steep Rock  
Iron Mines Limited

## **Forest Products**

GP Inc.  
Great Lakes Forest  
Products Limited  
Pacific Forest  
Products Limited  
Concomitant Properties,  
Limited

## **Iron and Steel**

The Algoma Steel  
Corporation, Limited  
AMCA International  
Limited

## **Real Estate**

Meridian Realty  
Company Limited

## **Agriproducts**

Maple Leaf Mills Limited  
Baker Commodities, Inc.

Canadian Pacific  
Hotels Limited  
Canadian Pacific  
Enterprises (U.S.) Inc.

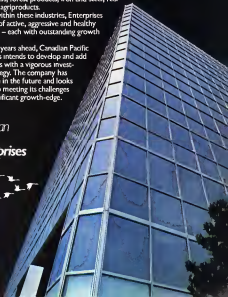
Canadian Pacific Enterprises, one of North America's largest resource asset management companies, faces the future with confidence.

Enterprises' asset base of over \$11 billion is concentrated in six basic industries: oil and gas, mines and minerals, forest products, iron and steel, real estate and agriproducts.

And within these industries, Enterprises has a mix of active, aggressive and healthy companies – each with outstanding growth potential.

In the years ahead, Canadian Pacific Enterprises intends to develop and add to its assets with a vigorous investment strategy. The company has confidence in the future and looks forward to meeting its challenges with a significant growth-edge.

Canadian  
Pacific  
**Enterprises**  
Limited





Barrett (left) and Liberal leader Peterson: the murky riddles remain

## BUSINESS

# The countdown for Crown

By James Fleming  
and Carol Brunson

With all the tantalizing complexity of a John le Carré spy thriller, Canada's Great Trust Affair has entered memorably on an even more labyrinthine course. In the Ontario legislature last week the Conservative government was attempting to rush through an extraordinary bill. The legislation would empower the province to sell off most of the assets of Crown Trust Co., a firm that it seized on Jan. 1 with two other trust companies, which provided third mortgages in the \$300-million sale and release of 11,660 Toronto apartment units last fall. Then, William Foye, the entrepreneur who arranged the final sale of the apartments to unknown investors, made his long-awaited appearance.

The controversial legislation was introduced by Consumer and Corporate Relations Minister Robert Elgie. The minister contended that selling Crown was the only alternative to liquidating the company, a step that would result in "substantial losses to depositors." If the bill passes, Crown would be left with

about \$300 million worth of "soft" mortgages that investigators say are not adequately secured. All other assets would be sold, and the buyer would receive a cash infusion of as much as \$300 million from the Canadian Deposit Insurance Corp. to cover all but an estimated \$130 million of depositors' funds. Elgie's warning to opposition MPPs, pass the bill quickly or the depositors will suffer and hold the legislators responsible.

Critics raged that the bill should not be pushed through before any charges have been laid against its owner, Leonard Rosenberg, or for that matter before Elgie had even made public the entire findings of the investigation into Crown. And opposition leaders dug their heels in. For one thing, they demanded fuller disclosure of the firm's alleged illegal activities that even more significant is

their condonation of a scheme in the bill that would remove the right of Crown's owners to challenge the government's action in court. Said Liberal leader David Peterson, "This is a very dangerous kind of law." Then, calling for a public inquiry into the whole affair, Peterson warned, "Everything they [the government] do now will be designed to prove that they were right" in taking action against the mixed companies. In committee hearings this week, the opposition will increase the pressure for more information about the affair and for amendments to the bill.

Even more doubts were cast on the government's tactics after Foye talked openly about the deal on Toronto TV station CFTO. After Leonard Rosenberg bought the apartments from Cadillac Fairview for \$200 million, Foye moved in to purchase them for \$312 million. Then he resold them to unknown investors for \$380 million. Now, a key mystery involving investigations in the identity of these investors. Last week Foye reiterated that the buyers were South Africans. He could not reveal their identity, he said. But he confirmed that they had made a \$100-million down payment that was deposited in a bank in the Cayman Islands. Foye added that he would reveal the identity of the bank to investigators only if they promised to keep it secret.

Whether or not the government will agree to Foye's terms is unclear. But the insistence of the down payment led to increased criticism concerning the government's allegations that the third mortgages which were involved in the deal were essentially unsecured. Foye said that, as manager of the properties under a 30-year leaseback arrangement with the owners, he could likely convince them to let him use the funds to make the mortgage payments. As William King, who represents Crown's preferred shareholders, put it, "How safe are the assets if Foye is the man that there is \$100 million in a Grand Cayman bank?"

For his part, Elgie was unimpressed by Foye's disclosure. Said Elgie, "We have known all along that the money was supposed to be out there somewhere. That does not alter things at all." Nor did Foye's statements solve other questions in the affair. In a meeting with Peterson last week, Jack Robbitt, an assistant investigating Crown and the other two seized

Foye: revelations



Arms—Gwynne Trust Co., also owned by Roseberg, and Seaway Trust Co., owned by Andrew Markle—revealed that \$79.5 million is not accounted for in the three firms' books. Not only that, but a report by the accounting firm Woods Gordon revealed that Crown had not received mortgage payments from Player that were due in 1986 and Jan. 10. Most pending of all was the fact that the actual owners of the properties are still unknown, although Player did confirm rumors that he screened the deal with Adnan Hussen Qatub, a resident of Saudi Arabia who represents the investors.

If Player's statements did not allay the government's worries about the financial readiness of the asset managers, they did underline the need for fuller government disclosure of its own findings. Otherwise, opposition politicians are unlikely to agree to passage of the controversial bill. As well, some critics charge that the government should quickly lay charges against the principals if it intends to do so.

One reason for laying criminal charges against Roseberg could arise if he violated a sworn declaration, made in the Ontario Securities Commission, that he was not acting for a Toronto lawyer named Joseph Barnett when Roseberg purchased 54 per cent of Crown's shares from CanWest Capital Corp. last fall. Barnett had been blocked in his attempt to purchase a major interest in Crown by an Ontario trading order on Sept. 9, when it was learned that he was under investigation for income tax evasion by federal authorities. Then, when Roseberg appeared on the scene as a junior for Crown's shares, the OTC dropped the case involving Barnett after Roseberg signed the declaration. There has been no evidence that Roseberg, his in-law was violated that pledge. Still, as one lawyer last week told *Oilweek*, that Barnett had continued his attempts to purchase Crown shares despite the court-trading order is a serious concern was recorded. Not only did CanWest Chairman Jay Asper testify that Barnett had indeed pressured him unsuccessfully to sell his Crown shares, but another former holder of Crown stock, Ronan Cohen, stated under oath that Barnett told him that he was considering to make a profit from the CanWest Five-Year transaction although he had advanced no money for the deal. Barnett said that he was acting for his brother, Theodore—who owns 33% Royalty—when he approached Asper. At the same time, he testified under oath to make a profit from the transaction only increased the prospect that the suspicion surrounding one of Canada's largest-ever real estate deals will deepen even more in weeks ahead. □

## The fear of falling oil prices



Formal (left), Chelton: "Because everybody needs OPEC, including the consumer."

By Linda Diebel

In 1973 a little-known group of oil-producing nations, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), forced its member with a suddenness that sent shock waves throughout the international economy. In the wake of the Arab-Israeli war, the emerging cartel vented its fury toward Israel and the West by imposing a global oil embargo. Then, in just more than two months, OPEC quadrupled the world oil price. Western nations panicked when almost overnight they found a world of oil priced at \$11.65 (U.S.) but last week when OPEC nations failed to reach a new pricing agreement in Geneva, the Western world reacted in precisely the opposite fashion. Most industrial nations viewed a potential rollback in oil prices with horror.

The widespread fears of a sharp decline in the world price—now officially set at \$34 (U.S.) for a barrel of Saudi light crude—were nurtured up by British Petroleum analyst William Ray-

mond. The situation, he said, is "horry as hell." And the new realization that oil price fluctuations—up or down—threaten global economic stability gave extra weight to Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani's claim that the world economic system has now become dependent on OPEC's caprice. The rupture in Geneva will not destroy the cartel, he maintained, because "everybody needs OPEC, including the consumer."

On the surface the expected drop in world prices appears to be bonanza for the consumer. Said Edwin Rothchild of the U.S. Citizens-Labor Energy Coalition, which lobbies for lower energy and utility rates. "I think it is wonderful news that the other countries cannot agree to maintain an artificially high price for the rest of the world." And members of such debt-ridden oil-importing countries as Argentina and Brazil agreed. But the real benefits to consumers, at least in Canada and the United States, are not yet calculated. The outcome depends, according to in-



Petroleum still holds grip economic of savings if over the oil industry

dustry analysts, on how low prices go. Federal treasures have hoard fiscal policies largely on tax laws from oil revenues, and even a \$4 drop in the international price would cost Ottawa, for one, about \$775 million and the United States about \$1.5 billion. In the United States a decline in government revenues would increase pressure for an additional oil-import tax. And for Canada a price plunge might mean that Energy Minister Jean Chrétien would have to restructure national policies that are based on the assumption of steadily rising world prices. As well, the domestic petroleum industry might have to abandon high-cost development in the Arctic and on the East Coast in a world saturated with cheap oil, said Robert Thomas, an oil analyst with the Montreal-based firm of Leverage Securities Inc.

In areas outside North America the consequences of a price decline could be even more dramatic. Expressing a widely held view, French Energy Minister Edouard Heurt commented, "If oil prices collapsed, our whole economy

system, the whole international banking system would be put into question." Ironically, the first casualties would be the treasurer and creditors of such oil-exporting countries as Mexico, Venezuela, Nigeria and Indonesia, which have borrowed heavily, based on the collateral of oil in the ground. Now they need revenues to pay their enormous debts. Delisted, as Yamani observed, could cut off "a chain of bankruptcies among U.S. oil companies and banks in the United States."

It is a grim scenario. First Boston Corp.'s Rasool predicts "catastrophe all over the oil industry" if prices fall, and he added that "the banks are scared to death." But, most analysts softened their initial apocalyptic warnings, like Leveson Davidson's Flecken, estimated that falling prices will level off at about \$39 a barrel. Yamani's chief economist, Tar Mafra, explained from his White Plains, N.Y., office: "There will likely be agreement among the OPEC members. The chances improve as they all get closer to the edge of

the cliff and back down." The 18-oil member edged to the brink at last week's meeting in the elegant Inter-Continental Hotel on a slope overlooking Lake Geneva. There, they failed to agree to a price and production package that might have reassured the cartel's control over a declining share of the world oil market. Yamani's Mafra said that his country was "surprised" at the breakdown, because delegates had originally agreed to cut OPEC oil production to an average of 13.5 million barrels a day—a million barrels less than a compromise worked out a month ago.

But Saudi Arabia's Yamani, backed by Persian Gulf states, indicated that African producers—Libya, Algeria and Nigeria—stop discounting their higher-quality crude by as much as \$4 a barrel as the Saudis would not agree to the new production ceiling. He accused the Africans of putting Saudi competitiveness by charging too meagre a differential to explain the advantage of producing a superior product closer to world markets. Said Yamani's oil minister, Rasool Al-Khatib al-Sabai: "If they cannot [stop discounting] or if they think this is too excessive, we are available to lowering prices." Then Iran entered the fray, demanding an increased market share at Saudi Arabia's expense. As Saudi oil production has declined to less than five million barrels a day, Iran's output has soared to more than three million.

But the control of oil has always been political, and this time the Iranians are only out to break the Saudis', remarked British analyst and economist Anthony Sampson, who wrote the 1975 oil industry exposé *The Seven Sisters*. Adding yet another political complexion, he told *Maclean's* that Yamani had reason to believe that Britain's oil producers intend to cut the price of North Sea oil by \$2 a barrel and undercut the Saudis. "You have all of these non-OPEC oil producers like Britain, Norway and Mexico playing the game—in produce and sell as much as possible, as quickly as possible. It's full of hypocrisy."

Nonetheless, international tensions across the Saudis of intentionally leading other OPEC members into a trap to force a battle and an eventual compromise, whether in the form of higher differentials or lower prices. Explained Data Resources Canada analyst James Oates: "The Saudis are aware there is a lot of pressure put on the Saudis to get in line and reduce prices. People told the Saudis to 'be' the problem, and a lot of very senior oil executives were flying around the world." He said a lot of oil companies stopped buying and began to use more efficient facilities, causing a price decline. Oates' analysis pointed out that the Saudis were well aware

that the price had to come down in order to enhance their sales. Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil and Mobil, for instance, are committed through the Arab-American Oil Co. (AAOC), in which they are partners, to purchase Saudi oil at \$34 a barrel. But Saudi light is already available on the "spot" market for as little as \$26 a barrel, and it could go lower. Noted a Platts's *Olefin News* report: "The Saudis had to go (against their own) most successful offer: meeting as a face-saving gesture to permit a price cut...it seems apparent [that Yameen] is trying to deflect blame for a price cut to non-OPEC members, especially the United Kingdom."

But Yameen's prediction that the North Sea price would drop "within a few days" gained credence when British National Oil Corp. (BNOC) officials admitted that their major clients had requested a price review at the end of January. Instead of March, British analysts said last week that the smart money, seeing the prospect of increased North Sea sales at lower prices, is now buying into oil. At a subsequent meeting, British Energy Secretary Nigel Lawson and industry leaders agreed that the British industry should not "rock the boat." And, although the pound fell to an all-time low of \$1.515 (U.S.) in the aftermath of the Geneva failure, Sir Archie Lamont, a director of British Petroleum's private sector exploration arm, said that he saw no reason for "urgent and dramatic" North Sea oil price cuts.

Perman Gulf countries could suffer poorer years ahead, but the drama of a price decline will centre on olive negotiations. "Mexico's problems are simply staggering," said Larry Burns, director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs. "Already, to service its foreign debt, the government has had to initiate austerity programs that are hurting the poor in a bad way." Rightly less than half of the country's foreign exchange will come from oil exports this year, according to Mexican finance ministry spokesman Alejandro Mueles, an economist with the Mexican Project at Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates, but he does not believe that Mexico could service its debt if oil prices fall by even \$2 a barrel. (The current account deficit would rise to \$4.8 billion.) Prospects of a \$26-billion

restructuring of Mexico's debt at week's end allayed international fears of imminent collapse but did little to change Brown's prediction that "Mexico is in for its most turbulent political phase in modern history."

Nigeria, meanwhile, is already reeling from an economy depressed by lower oil revenues. As unemployment mounts, the government has declared roughly two million foreign workers—most of them Ghanaians—to be "illegal aliens" and ordered them out of the country. The result has been chaos at the port of Lagos, as tens of thousands of people fight for places on the few boats arriving to

tail haul to tell us our revenues will fall. We're drawing our own conclusions." Industry analyst Oates estimates that a \$4 price decline will cost Ottawa \$1 billion and the producing provinces \$400 million.

At the same time, Levesque Beaudin's Picman said that the Canadian energy sector will suffer as many projects remain stalled because of the difficulties of long-range planning. Analysts fear that the uncertainty will make companies more hesitant to explore off Newfoundland without a federal-provincial offshore agreement, and last week's breakdown in talks between Christie, the island's premier, Brian

Peckford, and Energy Minister William Marshall heightened their concerns. While Christie insisted at week's end that "these guys don't want the responsibility of an offshore deal," Marshall labelled the federal attitude "shocking." For its part, Alberta stands to lose \$1.5 billion in natural gas revenues during an oil glut, and provincial Treasurer Leon Haydeman has been pushing the need for restraint. The Calgary-based Independent Petroleum Association of Canada, meanwhile, wants new pricing talks with Ottawa and Alberta within the next month. "We're putting together a paper on the negative effect of the price decline on the industry," said association spokesman Jan Horner. "The simplest way of mitigating the effect is to remove the ceiling."

But, in the wake of the uncertainty following the collapse of the OPEC talks, predictions have been "knocked for a loop," is the words of one Canadian industry spokesman. "Everyone is still scrambling, and it is clear that companies, bankers and governments have a great deal at stake." One clearly accurate prediction, however, came from the cryptic Yameen. "February," he said in a classic understatement, "will be an interesting month." The only postscript, an international observers had their relative brexit, is that the interest will probably hold well into March, April and beyond.

With Peter Gossie in Edmonton, Michael Chapman in Halifax, William Southern in Washington, Daniel Davutyan in New York, John Gaud in Geneva, Carrie Kinnear in London and Clifford Knorr in Mexico City.



Frenzied London money market: pressure to get Saudis in line

**Mateus. The most enjoyed wine in the world.**

# Requiem for a featherweight

By Peter C. Newman

There was a kind of oddball radio rhythm to Joe Clark's crucial speech at the Conservative convention in Winnipeg last week as he kept insisting that he is everything his supporters claim him to be.

His cheeks made brave attempts to become jowls as he chewed his thoughts, rolling up the tunic of a lifetime in politics to reveal him. The appearance didn't match the doctored because the speech—and the man making it—failed to encompass what Canadian politics is all about. It is not, as Clark kept repeating, about such banalities as "beating the Liberals" or "filling Canada's destiny," whatever that is. Now does successful statesmanship in this country flow from the elegant drooping of computers or the Tories' \$200,000 worth of audiovisual equipment. Political leadership in these frigid latitudes ultimately is an exercise in magic. It has to do with a party leader's capacity for filling his followers with enthusiasm, a sense of mission that goes beyond partisan name-calling; the leader's ability to turn himself into the embodiment of the nation he hopes to govern.

That, Joe Clark can never do. He has, after all, been campaigning since the 1981 leadership review, skewering the country, making countless "do not repeat this man" speeches about himself. Yet he has managed to raise his approval rating by a stunning half per cent.

All politicians are haunted, not by their enemies but by their former selves. It is seven years now since Joe Clark was chosen to lead the Conservatives into power. He did it, ending a 10-year streak of Liberal rule, only to be humbled back into opposition by a combination of miscalculation and just plain stupidity. The memory of his brief foray in office is not that of a maker of decisions or dispenser of favors to power-starved Tories but of a frightened creature retreating from his own policy blunders, such as moving the Canadian Embassy to Jerusalem and dismantling Petro-Canada. Last week's convention demonstrated that Clark has come dangerously close to earning out his sentence. Just as few's comedy now have a winning expectancy of more than a couple of seasons (though they could go as far as 36 years as the vaudeville circuit), a politician

must succeed or be replaced. Clark's failure to improve the Conservative party was caused by at least three self-inflicted wounds. He suffered from poor intelligence from Quebec, listening to the disoriented banks left over from the Union Nationale while ignoring the outcries of the new political army Brian Mulroney was mobilizing east of the Ottawa River. At the same time, Clark discarded too many of his



Mulroney: a bushy-tailed political army

former allies. Of the five key organizers who had masterminded his original bid for the leadership in 1976, for example, only two (Harvey Andre and Jim Hawton, who became Mulroney's in Winnipeg. The others (the campaign's national co-chairman, Montreal lawyer Pierre Boeshaert, Dave King, an Alberta Tory who is now Peter Lougheed's minister of education, and Ralph Heller, a Saskatchewan-born energy expert) weren't affably evoked.

The press reaction tangle with Peter Worthington hurt Clark badly because he was perceived as being unable to

handle one renegade delegate—at a time when he was applying to resolve the country's complex economic problems (The Liberals would have had no trouble soothing Senator Worthington's feckless).

Watching the Tory party in convulsion was a sobering experience, even if the delegates themselves drank enough booze to provide a placebo. They were all there, the bushy-tailed Mulroney people, with coffee on their faces and anger in their hearts; the defeated union from the Age of Eisenhower, worn out by years of political outrage; the prime-time guys who had jettisoned from Toronto, sentimental Clark (through old eyes, like newscasters trying to calculate the downside risk of sticking by him. The cheerers came from British Columbia, and the noisy brothers from rural Saskatchewan and Alberta, upping Skyranch coffee out of Skyranch cups, curing a world they never made.

What these and other delegates had in common—what unites the Conservatives into a political movement—is that no one-blue Tory recognizes any state of limitation in the party's internal funds. Conservatives' hatred for one another doesn't take their nerves or break the anger. They just keep growing. It's not a new phenomenon. Between 1987 and 1993, for instance, the Liberals stayed loyal to two leaders: Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mackenzie King. The Tories, on the other hand, managed to inflict on themselves no fewer than 12 new chieftains who kept them out of power during most of those same 61 years. (Given the party's official label—Progressive Conservative—recurs a contradiction in terms, like military intelligence or Canadian lawyer.)

What Canada lacks at the moment is a government with liberal authority. We have at the helm of our political parties an odd couple of used-up boaters with no prospect of rescuing themselves. Now, at least, the process of succession has begun, and, with the Tories launched into a leadership contest, the Liberals cannot afford to be far behind.

Joe Clark may have guts to burn, but as a national leader he has nowhere to go but out. The only thing that saved him from all men were humiliate in Winnipeg was that most of the other contenders for the Tory crown were relative strangers to the party's rank and file. Even so, for Joe Clark, fanfare did not breed consent.



## VANTAGE CONTEMPORARY TASTE

People express themselves in their uncompromising choice of cigarettes.

Vantage mildness is an expression of contemporary taste.

Vantage. Vantage Lights. Vantage Menthol Lights.

Warning: Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked—avoid inhaling. Average per cigarette: Vantage "tar" 10 mg., nicotine 0.6 mg.; Vantage Lights and Vantage Menthol Lights "tar" 5 mg., nicotine 0.4 mg.

# Back on the street again

By John Hay

The Criminal Code provision against offering a bawdy house is so simple and deceptively simple. The single sentence of Section 181 declares, "Every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction." But in a series of controversial court judgments since Parliament passed the section 11 years ago, the seemingly straightforward law has been rendered almost unenforceable. As a result, angry municipal politicians in cities from Halifax to Vancouver have busily passed bylaws of their own against the worst offenders. Calgary's city council adopted one such anti-prostitution ordinance in June, 1981. But last week, in a key test case, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the Calgary bylaw as an invasion of federal jurisdiction. The judgment caused as much disappointment in the federal justice department as in city halls and police stations across the country. "There are going to be a lot of happy hookers," said Calgary Police Chief Brian Sawyer. The whole embarrassment issue landed back in the swirling hands of Parliament.

The case, initially titled as the Supreme Court docket as *Lesovs-Jacques v. Westendorp*, was argued by the Queen, began in a steady and ordinary way on July 9, 1981. Westendorp, then 18, approached a man on a Calgary street and offered sex for payment. The man turned out to be a undercover policeman, who arrested Westendorp and charged her with violating the city's new anti-bawdy bylaw. In reading similar to those of other cities, the bylaw clearly says that "no person shall be on a street for the purpose of prostitution," nor anywhere else for that purpose. Westendorp was acquitted at her trial, but the Alberta Court of Appeal overturned that decision. The Supreme Court in Ottawa spent a day hearing the case last December.

Writing the unanimous decision for the nine-member court, Chief Justice



Calgary hookers: a pressing and persistent problem

Brian Lauder rejected the claim that the city was merely trying to prevent nuisance or obstructive on streets and sidewalks—a power within the city's authority. "If that were its purpose," wrote Lauder, "it would have dealt with congregation of persons on the streets or with obstructive," regardless of what those persons did or said. In trying to stay out of the court's purview, Calgary tried to create a criminal law—something only Parliament can do. Ruled Lauder. "However desirable it may be for the municipality to control or prohibit prostitution, there has been as overreaching in the present case which offends the division of legislative powers."

Just what impression the judgment left on Westendorp herself went unrecorded last week, she had disappeared into the grim limbo of a streetwalker's life. But the decision instantly threw doubt over local anti-prostitution by-

laws in such cities as Vancouver, Niagara Falls, Ont., Montreal and Halifax. Vancouver authorities stopped issuing summonses to hookers, or their customers, while they studied the judgment. Halifax's anti-prostitution bylaw was unofficially declared dead last week, two months after its approval by the provincial government. Twenty-seven people had been charged, including its customers. In Calgary, Mayor Ralph Klein was drafting a letter to Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan, urging federal action against prostitution. Said MacGuigan in the Commons: "I may say our hope had been that the Calgary bylaw would be upheld."

One option open to Parliament is to amend the Criminal Code's battered Section 181, which has been crippled by two successive Supreme Court judgments. In a 1979 decision the court ruled that a hooker's soliciting must be "persistent or persistent" to be a crime. Then, in 1981 it ruled that even when a woman approached several men proposing sex that conduct could not be judged "persistent or persistent." Conservative Tories and some Liberals favor an amendment to the Code that would make prostitution easier and permit police to charge customers. New Democrats have opposed tighter Criminal Code sanctions against soliciting, preferring local government action.

To the frustration of local politicians, however, Parliament has refused to come to final grips with the problem. The Commons justice committee held hearings on the issue last year but could not reach a consensus on a solution. It will likely take up the question again, now that the Westendorp decision has been delivered, though agreement will be difficult. While Mr. Justice's intense pressure from constituents in some ridings to clean up the streets, there is also a civil libertarian argument against a tougher Criminal Code sanction. The bylaw, in fact, was enacted in 1972 to replace a vagrancy section that had drawn criticism because it discriminated against women and gave police loosely defined powers of arrest.

A similar argument is raised against beefed-up use of local bylaws. Tony Manly, the Calgary criminal lawyer who took on the Westendorp defense, says he was fighting for civil liberties. "If we allow the municipalities to pass bylaws to get people off the streets because of who they are, we've lost control in covering years with our many discretion laws." Clearly the country has yet to find a compromise between two conflicting values—the control of streetwalkers and the right to walk the streets.

Wrote John Pennoyer in Vancouver: Dave Grober in Calgary and Stephen Aronson in Halifax.



Six business-like reasons to fly CPAir to Sydney

CP Air offers you the fastest wide-cabin flights to Sydney. Twice a week from Vancouver. Once a week from Toronto.

Only CP Air Empress Class gives you the benefits of a business class, at no extra cost.

You can stopover and unwind in Fiji or Hawaii, at no extra cost in airfare.

First Class passengers enjoy our fully reclining Loungaire sleeper seats.

To New Zealand, we'll arrange convenient connections in Nadi, Fiji.

You'll find a CPAir office to assist you in major cities in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Hawaii. Call your travel agent and fly CPAir. The world-wise airline.

CP Air

**CP Air International.**

South Pacific/The Orient/South America/North America/Europe



CP Air and its related subsidiaries are registered trademarks of Canadian Pacific Air Lines Limited. Empress Class and Loungaire are the registered trademarks of Canadian Pacific Air Lines Limited.

# Competition among the castle builders

By Gillian MacKay

The prospect of a new building for the troubled National Gallery of Canada has been shimmering on the Ottawa horizon so long that many people have come to regard it as a permanent stigma. As a result, when the federal government's new gallery director Jean Sutherland Boggs took to Ottawa a year ago to oversee the construction of a new gallery and a new Museum of Man, it seemed that the dry spell was over. Flooded at a sort of calm last week when the seven-member board of the Canada Museums Construction Corp (CMCC), of which Boggs is chairman, picked a short list of architects whose names will be submitted to the federal cabinet in early February. The government, in turn, is expected to choose an architect for both jobs by the end of the month. So far, the long quest for the first permanent home for Canada's 4300-million art collection has generated little national excitement—one though the current building is notorious for its leaky walls and lack of exhibition space. Instead, the secretive selection process has baffled the public and now it has provoked another uproar within the profession, particularly among certain firms that did not make the short list.

The federal government has already had two design competitions for a new building—once in 1954 and another in 1976-77—the latter won by John C. Parkin's firm with an austere modernist theme. The government then failed to build, citing changes in funding. In 1980, it held the 1977 competition—one of whom, Blake Stiller, an architect with Bregman & Haxman, claimed that the three spent preparing his submission was worth \$250,000—were so frustrated that there was talk of suing for damages. But when the project was revived again last year, there was scarcely an architect in the country who did not want a crack at it. Says Toronto-based architect and author Ruth Carter: "It's the job of the century—the present-day equivalent of designing the Parliament Building. In addition, the prestige, the \$250-million budget for the museum and gallery projects is particularly se-

ductive, when work-starved Canadian architects face an estimated unemployment rate of more than 30 per cent.

But no sooner was the latest plan dangled before the profession than the usual selection processes were abandoned. It was not, as the multitude had hoped, an open competition. Nor was it the more traditional process of either choosing on the basis of political connections or setting up a closed competi-

Arthur Erickson, a friend of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, said the government's annual caucus threaten to produce as equally unpopular winner. Even one of the longstanding competitors admits, "Whoever wins, everyone will scream bloody murder." Many architects regard Boggs's initial review as little more than a personal ally service. Says Mary DeBris, president of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada: "It's not Jean Boggs's money; it's the taxpayer's money." To ensure a fair and consistent evaluation process for public buildings, DeBris advocates a selection committee dominated by architects, and free from any political interference.

However vague the criteria for the gallery and museum inclusion, everyone approaches the fact that, so far at least, the process has been free from political taint. That has not stopped many of the submitted architects from crying the lobbying name. Among them is Parkin, who believes that the new architect should rightfully be his and has approached at least one federal cabinet minister with his complaint. The CMCC offered him secondary participation in the project, but Parkin is fighting the terms. Because Parkin's firm is not on the CMCC's short list, insiders speculate that he has been offered a role in the production process rather than the more prestigious role of designer. Parkin and CMCC officials refuse to comment on what one called "very delicate negotiations." But Vancouver stresses that Parkin's well-entrenched federal connections made no difference to their decision.

The National Gallery saga will not soon be over. Although the winners may be named by the end of the month, along with the chosen site, the designs are not likely to be finished before the summer. Given the strong design orientation of the architectural firms known to have been at the CMCC's initial short list (including Erickson and Toronto's Barton Myers), Boggs apparently wants a building that is a work of art in itself. Even as the final selection nears, some architects are doubtful that the project will enable her anything more than another in the air.



Parkin with winning 1977 design, current over selection

tion in which a small number of architects are invited to participate. Instead, Boggs and Gerald Valiquette, executive vice-president of the CMCC, embarked on a kind of private shopping expedition. They visited 75 architects across Canada, toured their buildings and then subjected them to financial checks. From the list, a small but undisclosed number of architects were invited to submit vaguely defined "approaches" rather than finished designs.

The profession was already outraged by the Washington Embassy debacle last spring, in which the relevant government's recommendations of a jury and those of the design of Vancouver architect

# A new Catholic code

The promulgation of the Vatican's revised code of canon law, signed last week by Pope John Paul II, seemed almost anticlimactic. The substantial 20-year overhaul of the code, the first since 1917, finally enshrines the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), many of which are already in practice. But Canada's community of 30.5 million Roman Catholics, not only used reviews. Church leaders were gratified by the new code's strong support of decentralization. But activist nuns were disappointed that it continues to bar women from even the lowest ranks of ordained clergy.

The church's most contentious doctrines, such as those prohibiting abortion and birth control, are unchanged. But the new document stresses the rights of the laity, gives local bishops more power, and reduces the daily obligations required of Catholics. At the same time, the number of offences punishable by excommunication has been reduced from 27 to six, including the church-defined sins of voluntary abortion and physically harming the Pope. Rev. Francis McManis, dean of the faculty of canon law at St. Paul University in Ottawa, welcomed the changes. "I like comparing the new code to the Canadian Constitution," he said. "It is going to mean as well as but it is going to take a little while. We don't wake up the next morning and see the differences." McManis worries that the code granted Canadian bishops 60 per cent of the changes they were seeking. The code does, however, forbid the clergy from participating in politics. But Bishop Berny De Soto of Victoria, a member of a committee of bishops that recently accused Ottawa of awarding working people for profits, said last week that he believes the restriction applies only to partisan politics.

On other fronts, reforms would bishops back and lost terrain. Grounds for excommunication have been broadened, and the administration of marriage overhauls has been speeded up to the laity—both men and women. But the new code rounds a special 1951 provision that allowed Canadian marriage cases to be processed more easily.

The revised code contains 1,752 canons—whittled down from 2,614—but about 400 of them allow for local "adaptations." Rev. Bernard Price, executive secretary-general with the Canadian Conference of Bishops in Ottawa, said that Canadian bishops in future code meetings will now have more leeway to

incorporate local cultural traditions even branded as pagan.

But Sister Margaret Brennan, a teacher at Toronto's St. Basil College, was disappointed that the code's expanded latitude falls short of allowing the ordination of women. Brennan reserved a final judgment until she can

see the exact text of the canons. But she contended that the document does not appear to live up to its own egalitarian principles. Says Brennan: "It looks like they have gone out of their way to keep us out."

In the United States the National Council of Nuns has already condemned the new code. But St. Paul's McManis expects a more conciliatory attitude from Canadian nuns. "We wished the code could have gone further, but the rest of the church in other parts of the world wasn't ready for it."

—BRUCE D. JENNISON in Toronto

**True Taste**

**Craven**

**Rich in satisfaction**

Warning: Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked. Average per cigarette—tar: 11 mg; nicotine av. 0.9 mg. "tar" 11 mg; "nic" 0.9 mg.





## MEDIA

# Should you pay for TV?

By Mark Carmichael

There was a time, not long ago, when watching television was a simple pastime. With shoes kicked off and converter at hand, the viewer had the easiest of choices—Bruno cooking the beach or Archie chewing out Edith's just-as-ripe tush. And when the tube announced "Show of the Week," the choice was even simpler. But in recent months, as Paul Newman's blue eyes flashed out from billboards and mail slots delivered glossy announcements, notice was served that tougher decisions were looming. Then, this week pay TV made its much-bemoaned and long-awaited debut, ushering RSD and a host of other stars into the living rooms of the nation. But, despite the glitz of infomercials, many viewers still know little more about how pay TV came into existence, what it offers, and what role it will play in the information revolution exploding around them.

Bringing pay TV to Canada has been a massive undertaking. Like the CBS, it typifies the country's profound need to span the continent in one dramatic sweep. And its constant striving for

viewer's attention is more than simple hype—it is a desperate bid for survival as the part of the pay TV operators. After the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) licensed six pay TV networks last March, years of planning were suddenly focused on the launch date of Feb. 1, 1982. The race to sign up subscribers was a financial imperative, since pay TV has no advertisers to fund programming; the networks have spent millions of dollars of their investors' equity on satellite programs—mainly U.S. movies—to lure suburban dollars. In the case of two general-interest licenses—First Choice, at the national level, and Superchannel, operating in Alberta and Ontario—the race is being speeded daily as a month's worth of experts predict will end in merger or merger within a year. At the moment, the odds do not favor First Choice. Says Superchannel (Ontario) Chairman Jon Stan: "We intend to be the Kluwer, not the carrier, of pay TV."

But the real race is against time, a sprint against technological obstacles involving systems, satellite hardware such as direct broadcast satellites, earth stations and two-way admissible decoders. Clearly, the

Carrie Fisher and friends in *Star Wars* (left), Paul Newman in *Heat* (center), The Bronx: a host of stars flooding Canadian TV.

existing equipment is as sophisticated as any the Force could muster in *Star Wars*, which, incidentally, is the blockbuster movie with which both major networks chose to launch their programming. Pay TV is, in fact, not so new but a month, although the scenario very, the conclusion is inescapable—in five or 10 years, advances in technology will make today's pay TV system as antiquated as the vacuum tube.

Pay TV's explosive debut and post-agency storm from the fact that the CRTC has been refusing to allow it in

Canada since 1970, the year Rogers Communications first proposed a pay TV network. Like so many other innovations in telecommunications, pay TV was, in fact, first introduced in Canada as an experiment as early as 1966. The United States, on the other hand, has embraced the phenomenon for a decade and now has more than 30 networks offering everything from religious programming to martial arts.

But pay TV in Canada had to pay its way in hard currency. To counter U.S. programming's continuing ravages of Canadian broadcast-

ing, the CRTC has struggled to preserve a Canadian presence with content regulations. Initially, the commission saw no cultural benefit in pay TV. Eventually, however, the cable lobby grew too strong to be ignored. When the CRTC finally gave in last March, still Canadian content regulations were built into the terms of the licenses. Said CRTC Chairman Jake Milne before handing down the decision: "This is the last new source of television money as night—it's our last chance to get Canadian content right."

As the world's most heavily cabled country after Belgium—60 per cent of all households—the network has an immediate subscriber base of 44 million. Still, despite heavy pressure that all systems would take off in Feb. 1, late deliveries of hardware to many cable companies have forced a postponement in several areas. Maclean Hunter, Canada's second-largest cable company, with 445,000 subscribers, cannot fulfill orders until March, and in some cases not until September. Deliveries to the Atlantic region have been so slow that the regional network, Star Channel, postponed broadcasts for a month. Only companies in Rogers Communications Inc., the country's largest, are guaranteed delivery on time—not surprisingly, since Rogers licenses its own hardware.

So subscribers who paid \$65 a month per channel and actually got pay TV in return this week may be greeted by the face they receive. At First Choice, now irreversibly identified with Playboy as the result of its decision to show soft-core sex programming, the program mix is 70 per cent movies and 30 per cent variety, comedy and sports. Its offerings include *Port Apache*, the Bronx 10 repeats of *Star Wars*, and *Rowan & Martin's* (not largely U.S.-funded) soap. Later in the month, despite the public outcry, First Choice will doggedly rebroadcast *Baywatch*.

On C-Channel, the special-interest national network, culture is the keynote: 40 per cent performing arts, 40 per cent critically acclaimed and predominantly foreign movies and 20 per cent quality children's programming. Initial highlights include the Royal Ballet's *Swan Lake*, Broadway's *Sevigny Todd* and *The French Lieutenant's Woman*.

Maclean at First Choice: Playboy and protest.



Star of Superchannel: major movies and sports.





MEDIA

Superchannel is the biggest regional network, financing 75 per cent movies and nearly 38 per cent sports, a blend proven to be a top draw in the United States. This week, in addition to *Star Wars*, Superchannel is showing *The Atlantic Wars* and the *Edmonton-Montreal* NHL hockey game. The first is a series not available on regular television. Although Star Channel and Télévision de l'est du Canada (TEVEC), a francophone counterpart in Eastern Canada, have not yet started up, in British Columbia *World View* is launching multilingual programming in six languages. Licenses for regional in the other provinces and the territories are pending. Apart from hockey and several tax-sheltered channels from the boom-and-bust days of Canadian movies in the late 1970s—such as *Silver of the North*—Canadian programming on all channels during the first week is confined to one comedy special with David Steinberg and a one-man play about G.K. Chesterton.

Throughout February, Superchannel will show 47 movies, First Choice 28—almost all of them American, and all repeated at least six times. Everything is proceeding according to plan, however. The second purpose of pay TV is to reward the film and television production industries, rate generating a truly Canadian product for the domestic market. Under the terms of their licenses, the pay TV networks must spend at least 50 per cent of their total program budget each year on Canadian programs, and half of that must go to

feature films or television drama. But, since Hollywood movies are the current in-late cablemen, the crucial sign-up months will see unusually high foreign-content levels.

The devastated condition of Canadian film and television production is undeniable. In 1992, Australian television generated 480 hours of indigenous drama, Canada fewer than 500. The telephone film industry is operating at five-per-cent capacity. So far, independent film producers are pleased with the onerous financial commitments offered by the new networks, which in the first year alone will contract not more than \$20 million for buying or investing in Canadian films. TV series and filmed versions of performing arts productions.

If the film producers have been given a new lease on life, the pay-TV networks are still struggling to survive. In the huge U.S. market, pay TV has become a colonial industry. Last year Home Box Office (HBO), with 11 million subscribers, earned more than its owner, Time, Inc., this year did for RCA. But it is one of only two networks to show a profit. And, in following the U.S. model, the CRTC opposed the almost unanimous opinion expressed at the Herring hearings—that the potential Canada tax material was too small to generate enough revenue for anything other than a money-losing licensed broadcaster. Patrick Watson after the decision split the market so ways. "A licensee to fail six months to fail. Gather the phials."

For its part, the CRTC predicted that several licenses would generate more subscribers and therefore more revenue.

High Melrose with Howard and play-offs to Shannon Tweed's replacement prize!

was overall for indigenous production. Five experts agreed, and the sign-up figures so far—roughly 150,000—were incoherent. But opponents of competitive licensing argue that private enterprises cannot be allowed total control of the distribution of the funding. "If you want unique programming, you have to define a unique economic structure," says Montreal communications consultant Sandra Gachet. "The past 10 years of Canadian broadcasting show that privatization equals Americanization. Outside the United States, indigenous film production is a social and political decision—you have to give it to a subsidized private sector or to the public sector."

The CRTC decision, in effect, forced the networks and film producers to depend less on the domestic market for revenue and turn their product more to world markets. The prevalent free-market thinking at the CRTC was that the shift might be a good stimulus to aggressive marketing and U.S. pay-TV is indeed hungry for new products. In 1992 they could find only 300 new films to show, and it has now joined with CBC and Columbia to form a separate studio. Demand is so high that even some of the universally rejected, tax-sheltered Canadian films of the late 1970s are now making their way into the U.S. market. Several are being shown this month on a Los Angeles pay station.

The irony of the CRTC decision, however,

Swan Lake: The cultural quotient



over, is that, instead of replacing those funds with top-quality fare, it was, in fact, licensing more of the same. Working on a money-losing model, First Choice had initially intended to pay out license fees only, providing more ready capital for the independents. Now it must invest in production with an eye to making a substantial profit. Frustrated by Canadian-content rules and uncertain markets, network businessmen like Victor Masliah, chief executive officer at First Choice, looked for an exit. "This industry is in the pregnancy stage," said Masliah. "If there are too many regulations, you run the risk of stillbirth."

With the announcement of the \$30-million Playbox deal to produce sufficient material in Toronto and Montreal, First Choice defied two "regulations"—the country's moral standards and the can't-they-see rule—only to find its hands tied in both cases by even more regulations. Under continuing pressure from the anti-pornography lobby, the CRTC warned the pay TV networks last week to come up with a "voluntary" code of ethics for their adult programming—or face government regulation. First Choice quickly agreed to a voluntary code, but the competition reacted in the grounds that they were being splintered by the need. First Choice had backed up "I just don't consider myself part of that party," said Edgar Cowan, president of C-Channel. And Reeves Harris, president of Superchannel, added that working out common principles with First Choice might be difficult "considering what they have shown their principles to be."



Marvin Hagler sports a proven winner

In its statement, the CRTC specifically warned against shows featuring "fraternization violence against women." That would rule out the violent pornography shows on the Playbox channel in the United States—and replaced for a group of surprised MPs on Parliament Hill. Defending the company on charges that soft-core sex inevitably leads to hard-core, Masliah said "What about the minister? It didn't get shorter and shorter. People have standards—they'll draw the line." But what if not, all three executives were expected in Ottawa this week to confer with the CRTC.

But First Choice did not run around the CRTC's Canadian regulations could cause the pay TV industry even more grief. The Playbox deal is built on "non-filing," a financial sleight of hand that allows a Canadian network to invest only a minority share (usually 25 per cent) in a reproduction with a foreign company but to write off the project as 100-per-cent Canadian content. Many of First Choice's so-called Canadian investments, including *Romance* and the musical *Something's Afoot*, with Jess Hladik and Andy Gibb, have been unfilled. Viewed strictly from the standpoint of stimulating Canadian culture, First Choice's investment of \$7.5 million (out of some \$11 million available for Canadian programming this year) is such a victory for pay TV in a bad fight. Says Gachet: "The Playbox deal makes a mockery of Canadian producers. It's the inevitable result of the economic law constructed by the CRTC. The choice was either

as this route or go bankrupt."

In the past the CRTC has never rigidly enforced the terms of the licenses it issued and has been lenient with private broadcasters such as CTV and the Global Network regarding Canadian regulations. In the case of pay TV, however, Masliah predicted that the CRTC will be "extraordinarily tough" in renewing the five-year licenses. Meanwhile, after reviewing its Can-con rules last fall, the CRTC has presented new guidelines that should eliminate the scuffling loophole.

As First Choice founders, its rival Superchannel watches gleefully from a distance. Superchannel had, in fact, briefly considered going into programming itself. But in the United States channels the Playbox suffers from a high subscriber cancellation rate—the so-called "churn" factor—and Superchannel decided not to risk it. Although the vulnerability of the current protest could not have been predicted, Dr. Charles Allard (page 48), head of 100-per-cent Canadian content. Many of First Choice's so-called Canadian investments, including *Romance* and the musical *Something's Afoot*, with Jess Hladik and Andy Gibb, have been unfilled. Viewed strictly from the standpoint of stimulating Canadian culture, First Choice's investment of \$7.5 million (out of some \$11 million available for Canadian programming this year) is such a victory for pay TV in a bad fight. Says Gachet: "The Playbox deal makes a mockery of Canadian producers. It's the inevitable result of the economic law constructed by the CRTC. The choice was either

In the race to sign up subscribers, Superchannel has surprised industry analysts and even itself. Even in Ontario the network has been able to cash in on regional resentment against Ottawa, unlike First Choice, which has reserved its national early fringe in its logo—the second 1 within a single line in Edmonton pay TV has already

predicted an astounding 16 per cent of the market. Although cable companies everywhere are reluctant to reveal which channels are being purchased, Randy Elliot, vice-president of Edmonton-based Capital Cable, admitted that his customers strongly favored Superchannel. "Nature of the beast is we have the local channel," said Elliot. "This is Alberta." Resistance has also been fuelled by well-publicized disputes between the federal and provincial governments over pay TV jurisdiction. In Quebec the government has delayed all services with its own hearings, and its owners are still pending. And in British Columbia a provincial government challenge is currently before the Supreme Court.

While First Channel and Superchannel fight for the general-interest title, C-Channel began to find subscribers by going alone or piggybacking on the larger networks. C-Channel is the television arm of Lively Arts Market Builders Inc., a company promoting the performing arts using private-enterprise techniques. Says President Edgar Cowan "We're not really a pay TV network at all, but a television distribution system for the performing arts." Although pay TV may take revenues away from movie houses, Cowan believes that will not happen in the performing arts. "So many people are intimidated by opera and dance, they would never go. But when it is put in a different environment, content, they find they like it and want more," says Cowan.

By funding the filming of such works as Brian Macdonald's ballet, Ninacovers, C-Channel comes closest of all the networks to fulfilling pay TV's Canadian cultural mandate. "When you place the Canadian performing arts in a national context, it dominates our programming," says Cowan. "There is no difference in quality—you can see that it's world class." Nevertheless, Cowan is not strenuously pushing home-grown products, and C-Channel also features Gordon Fraser plugging Louisa Young's award-winning play. In March will be the Royal Shakespeare Company's 8½-hour production of *The Tenth and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, notably marketed with food suggestions and tips for Nickleby costume parties.

The impact of C-Channel's cultural programming—or indeed any pay TV of-

ferings—as the CRTC and private broadcaster audiences could be enormous. In the United States a pay TV showing of *On Golden Pond* left the regular networks in the same time slot with their lowest ratings in history. However, the CRTC has warned the Canadian pay networks against "upcharging" off programming that might normally appear on regular television. Many market analysts predict that pay TV will significantly affect video cassette sales by making popular movies more accessible. Still, local distribution patterns are quickly forming to produce maximum returns on movies: after the theatre potential has been explored, a film is released on video cassette, then on pay TV—and finally on conventional TV.

While all the entertainment delights

that "ultimately, CMC will confront cable on the same turf, and programming will make the difference." The threat that these addresses pose to Canadian strikes fear in the strategy planners at the federal department of communications, and their only choice is to try to ensure that when the flood of U.S. programming arrives, Canadian viewers will retain the impression it is plugs in. Because cable is the only exhibition system that can be regulated, the CRTC and the CMC have a vested interest in keeping the industry healthy—and that is the reason for keeping pay TV.

But the cable companies themselves pose a major problem for the regulators. Their sole concern is to increase subscriptions, sell hardware and persuade customers to buy as many pay TV channels as possible. The cost of installing the hardware needed to deliver several sophisticated pay channels has been enormous, and the cable companies have driven hard bargains with the networks for a solid share of subscriber revenue to amortize their costs. The result is less money available for program financing.

By licensing competitive channels requiring costly hardware in a strictly regulated environment, the CRTC has ensured that the Americanization of Canadian broadcasting will continue. Arts organizations now believe that only one system will save Can-con: a direct levy on the \$600-million revenues the companies will gross over the next five years to be distributed to a nonprofit corporation to fund film and television production. The CRTC is examining the "universal pay" option, but, after going so far in one direction, it is unlikely to reverse its aid at this stage.

The fact remains, however, that independent film producers are enjoying the most positive financial encouragement they have ever known. And if the money goes back again, the CRTC will play the last trump of universal pay. "The whole thing needs a new perspective," says Mitchell. "People make aesthetic generalizations, but a project of this magnitude needs to settle down and find itself." The history of pay TV may have just begun, but many suspect that its future can be read in the lessons of the past.

With Michael Chabon in *Prologue*, Anne Byrne in *Montreal*, Gloria McKay, Nicholas Jorgensen and Bruce Kelly in *Toronto*, Dale Keller in *Regina*, Peter Cowan in *Edmonton* and Denise Gaudin in *Vancouver*.



Cowan of C-Channel from Pearson to Nicholas Nickleby

Your computer from the store called **Radio Shack**

# Come in and meet the family

The computer experts at Radio Shack know all businesses are not alike. That's why they invite you to meet the complete TRS-80 family of computers.



If you own a simple family business, or manage a department in a large company, you should meet the TRS-80 computer family today.

Your local Radio Shack Computer Centre offers you one-stop shopping convenience. It's the place to see the complete TRS-80 line of computers, accessories, and business software and services.

**Business systems from \$4,000**

Affordable prices are only the beginning. Our computer experts will tailor a cost-effective busi-

ness system to your data and word processing requirements. Simply choose from our library of proven business software and discover the time-saving efficiency of Profile electronic filing, SCKIPSET™ word processing, and VisiCalc™ financial planning.

Radio Shack is your complete computer company. Our total customer support includes full service, training and technical assistance. It's why we're the premier microcomputer family.

**Radio Shack**

Consult the white pages for the Radio Shack store or Computer Centre nearest you.

**TRS-80 #1**

## Investment with surgical precision

After the cent-leverage pay TV applications in Ottawa 15 months ago, Edmonton multimillionaire Dr. Charles Allard was furious. The normally reserved, surgeon-on-entrepreneur broke his customary silence and fumed publicly about the eastern commission's establishment. "If I'd stayed there much longer, I'm afraid they might have made a separation out of me," he declared. A few months later, however, the quiet 63-year-old entrepreneur was smiling when the cent chose his Alberta Independent Pay Television Ltd. (AIP-TV), operating under the name Superchannel, over three competitors to serve the 450,000 potential subscribers in his home province. As well, Allard owns 66 per cent of the company that was the focus for Ontario. When pay TV finally takes on Canadian screens this week, these two stations will be the financial and production linchpins in what could become a full-fledged national broadcasting empire.

Apart from pay TV, Allard's broadcasting holdings include the controlling interest in the profitable Edmonton independent TV station CITY, 66 per cent of the Canadian Communications Satellite System, which beams commercial television to remote communities across Canada, and control of Video Pack, a major video production facility in Edmonton. Allard's bids for pay TV licenses in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories are relatively unopposed, and he is expected to become a major investor in many of it since the B.C. and Yukon regional licenses. Allard himself concedes that his various interests "might be construed to be a national network" but he insists that each regional network will be independent.

It is not surprising that Allard's new money is being used to advantage against the old money of the eastern establishment—he has so much more of it. The deal for his broadcasting pursuits comes from the \$150 million he amassed in 1968 from the sale of his controlling interest in Allarco Developments. That sprawling conglomerate began modestly in 1948 when the young Edmonton doctor returned to his home town from medical training and, unable to find office space to set up his practice, decided to build a seven-story office block.

At first, Allard's business interests were a sideline to his medical career,

eventually he became chief of surgery at Edmonton General Hospital. But each acquisition soon led to another: the success of his first building encouraged more real estate investments, and a small profit on the sale of a car resulted in a partnership that eventually became Western Canada's largest Chrysler dealership. In 1973 he decided to retire from medicine to manage his business holdings. And when he sold Allarco to Canada Developers in 1980, his company



Allard, a fixer devoted to work

had spread its tentacles into almost every area of commerce: the car dealership, petrochemical plants, hotels, restaurants, a trust company, insurance companies, a small airline, a bank in Arizona, an oil company and vast tracts of real estate.

Allard retained his broadcasting interests, his jet set and his ranch with its herd of prize Murray Grey cattle. But retirement was impossible for a man who was so devoted to work. When the CITY asked for bids for pay TV licenses,

the cash-flush entrepreneur found the opportunity irresistible. "I was stimulated by the challenges," Allard says of his new projects. "We are really at the cutting edge of technology in television."

Despite the state-of-the-art technology, Superchannel's fate will still be decided by programming, and Allard admits that he could run into "serious problems" competing against the wealthier First Choice. All of AIP-TV's profits from subscription sales—set at an estimated \$13.6 million over the five-year licence—will be played back into shows created by independent Canadian producers. So far, two months' worth of a new comedy series, *The Last Saturday*, and a series of concerts, featuring such international stars as Kira Kristofferson and Nana Mouskouri, are in the can. The new shows bear a close resemblance to two previous success stories from the CITY studio: the *In Concert* series that was sold in 50 countries and the popular SCTV Network.

But critics wonder whether or not Allard can live up to all his commitments. Their doubts arise partly from a CITY warning in 1979 that his CITY studios had failed to live up to its Canadian-content promises. Indeed, the emphasis on international stars appears geared toward a North American market. "I've not seen that audience vary that much over the continent," says Allard. "Albertans are much like any viewers anywhere."

Another criticism of Superchannel is that its close relationship with CITY could reduce job opportunities for independent producers. "It looks very like producers, production teams and writers are parachuted in [for AIPTV shows] and work at CITY studios," says Ted Harris, local president of the Association of Canadian Radio and Television Artists. But Allard's dilemma is that CITY has the best studio facilities in Alberta, and the CBC will not allow him to build a separate studio. He insists that his company has already done more than it planned, spending \$2 million on production when "there hasn't been a model case in."

The Superchannel-CITY association has inspired the station's fiercest competitor, CITY, to start a campaign against pay TV. "The best thing in life is free," says the CITY affiliate in one of its ads. For his part, Allard likely would contend that you get what you pay for.

—PETER GOODE in Edmonton.

## Now World famous quality in a light cigarette.

Superior flavour,  
smooth and satisfying

REGULAR LENGTH

**dunhill**  
LIGHTS

For those who appreciate the finer things

We bring Dunhill and World Famous quality to you. Each cigarette is hand-rolled with a special smoked-tobacco blend. Average per cigarette: "tar" 14 mg, Nic. 1.1 mg.



## WESTIN PEOPLE GO FIRST-CLASS WORLDWIDE



### CANADA

CALGARY, The Weston Hotel  
EDMONTON, The Weston Hotel  
MONTREAL, The Weston Renaissance  
OTTAWA, The Weston Hotel (late 1991)  
TORONTO, The Weston Hotel  
VANCOUVER, The Weston Bachelors  
WINNIPEG, The Weston Hotel

### UNITED STATES

ATLANTA, The Weston Peachtree Plaza  
BOSTON, The Weston Hotel  
CHICAGO, The Weston Hotel (Downtown) & The Weston Hotel (O'Hare) (Early 1994)  
CINCINNATI, The Weston Hotel  
DALLAS, The Weston Hotel  
DENVER, The Weston Hotel  
DETROIT, The Weston Hotel  
HAWAII, HILO, ISLAND, Mauna Kea Beach  
HAWAII, HONOLULU (Waialae), The Weston Hotel  
HAWAII, MAUI, The Weston Hotel  
HOUSTON, The Weston Galleria & The Weston Oaks  
KANSAS CITY, MO, The St. Louis Crown Center  
LOS ANGELES, Century Plaza (Beverly Hills) & The Weston Renaissance (Downtown)  
NEW YORK, The Plaza  
ORANGE COUNTY, CA, The Weston South Coast Plaza  
PHILADELPHIA, Bellevue Stratford  
PHOENIX, The Arizona Biltmore  
PORTLAND, OR, The Wayne Bowen

SAN FRANCISCO, The Weston Miyako  
SEATTLE, The Weston Hotel  
TULSA, Williams Hall  
VAIL, The Weston Hotel  
EL SALVADOR  
SAN SALVADOR, Camino Real  
GUATEMALA  
GUATEMALA CITY, Camino Real  
HONG KONG  
KOWLOON, Shuang Lu  
JAPAN  
KYOTO, Miyako  
TOKYO, Alaskan Prince Hotel (Early 1993) & Tokyo Prince  
KOREA  
PUSAN, The Weston Chosen Beach  
SEOUL, The Weston Chosen  
MEXICO  
ACAPULCO, Los Reyes  
CANCLUN, Camino Real  
GUANAJUATO, Camino Real  
D.F., ESTADISTAS, Camino Real  
MAZATLAN, Camino Real  
MEXICO CITY, Alameda, Camino Real & Gloria Plaza  
PUERTO VALLARTA, Camino Real  
SALTILLO, Camino Real  
PHILIPPINES  
MANILA, Philippine Plaza  
SINGAPORE  
Raffles City (1993)  
The Weston Plaza & The Weston Standard  
SOUTH AFRICA  
JOHANNESBURG, The Carlton

### FOR THE RECORD

## Bop's cool strength

THE LONNIE TRISTANO QUARTET (RAM)

A strong, cool pianist, the late Lonnie Tristano embodied the streamlined perfection of the bop style. This newly issued two-disc set, recorded with admirable clarity during a 1958 New York performance, shows Tristano's quartet simply and splendidly at work. Saxophonist Lee Konitz's slender-tube alto alternates between snazzy, long solo lines and sharp pointed riffs. The rhythm section—Gene Ramey (bass) and Art Taylor (drums)—anchors an understated poppiness. And Tristano himself, whether working such standards as *S. Wonderful* or originals like *Passion in Moscow*, has the grown-up intelligence and the wit that set bop's enduring pleasures.

CONCRETS  
Keith Jarrett  
(MCA/IMP)

Once daring and ingenious, Keith Jarrett now affects sarcasm. When he began his series of heretically extended acoustic solo piano recordings in 1972, Jarrett was running against the trend toward jazz-rock fusion. His acerbic tone was reminiscent of Frank Zappa by the time of the *Hellfire Sex* tour. Conversely, in 1978, acoustic electronics were in vogue, and Jarrett's format had become risky, his style overbearing. Despite with straightened grants supporting a brutish version of Glenn Gould at the keyboard, Concrets is a small paean of a talent that once approached a peculiar kind of nobility.

—BART THATA

### SCIENCE

## Putting down the psychics

When photographer Wayne Williams was finally convicted last winter for the murders of 26 young black men in Atlanta, few people recalled the well-publicized flurry of false leads offered by a allegedly psychic spook during the wane of Kilgore. Well-known New Jersey psychic Dorothy Allison, for example, gave police investigators 40 names of murder suspects—all of them wrong. Such lapses did not escape the cheerful irony of the little-known but prestigious Buffalo, N.Y.-based journal, *The Skeptical Inquirer* (circulation 10,000). Observed *Inquirer* contributor James Randi in a recent issue: "The media jumped at [Allison's] empty word, then dropped her when she proved a failure."

Founded in 1976 by a group of scientists and scientists concerned about pseudoscience hyped by the media, *The Skeptical Inquirer* is the official journal of the Buffalo-based Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP). The magazine appears as few newswatchers, carries no paid advertising, and updates on \$10.50 subscription fees and donations. But its unpaid contributors have included the likes of chemist-sculptor Isaac Asimov and various mathematical geniuses Martin Gardner, famed Scientific American columnist. Its masthead cites such CSICOP notables as psychologist B.F. Skinner, sociologist Stephen Jay Gould, and astronomer Carl Sagan. Underlying their support is a sense of mission: "All kinds of irrational beliefs have unexamined adherents all over the world," says Asimov. "The Skeptical Inquirer" is a spokesman for rationality.

Far from being a stuffy academic journal, the invading magazine has wittily recorded the blunders of tabloid-writer Jason Dixon ("The unshakeable rubber duck of prophecy") and questioned a well-known film in which two Stanford University scientists allegedly demonstrated Uri Geller's psychic powers. *Inquirer* correspondents have debunked such phenomena as dancing rats, enticement, pyramid surgery, Selenite 100, and photographs purportedly showing the Loch Ness monster.

In a recent special issue on the controversial Shroud of Turin, *Inquirer* writers recalled that five years ago a team of 20 U.S. scientists, armed with six tonnes of high-tech equipment, announced the relic's authenticity to the Assisi Press and to the CBC network program *50/50*. Yet the magazine

the *Inquirer* recently debunked as "a massive exercise in self-deception." The outraged author of *Project Identification* dismisses the *Inquirer* reviewer as "not a skeptic, but a cynic."

But like *Inquirer's* editor, science journalist Kendrick Frazier, points out that even a scientific degree does not guarantee protection from the powerful will to believe. "We're all creatures of our beliefs," he declares, "and our beliefs influence our perceptions. Some of these reports would be exciting if only they were true."

—RONA MAYNARD in Toronto

## THE NATIONAL BALLET OF CANADA

Gold Award, FORTUNE MAGAZINE, 1988  
JORDAN CHATFIELD, Artistic Director  
JOSEPH J. CHATFIELD, Executive Director  
WINTER SEASON: FEB. 9-27 O'KEEFE CENTRE

## Love Encores

Coppelia  
February 8, 10, 11, 12, 13  
Giselle  
February 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

Ballets ensembles  
February 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22  
The Queen's Hotel (O'Keefe)  
In the Underworld: Feb. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22  
Cinderella: Feb. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22  
Cinderella: Feb. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

Get your tickets at the O'Keefe Centre Box Office, at  
Toll-free 1-800-387-3371.  
\*Adult Prices \*\*Student Adult \*\*Child \*\*Infant



FOR RESERVATIONS CALL YOUR TRAVEL AGENT OR YOUR COMPANY TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OR 800 265 6581 (TOLL FREE) 545-7700



WESTIN HOTELS



Neruda: a timeless voice of inevitable love

#### BOOKS

## Passionate words

FASHIONS AND IMPRESSIONS  
By Pablo Neruda  
(1966) New Fall River  
\$16 pages, \$24.95

Nothing sustains a man through a complex life as well as single faith. Although the great Chilean poet, politician and diplomat Pablo Neruda was to mature with the tumults of history, he always maintained a passionate belief in language. "For human beings, not to speak is to die," he once wrote. Through words, he could rise above the indulgence of history. "Poetry is indestructible," he wrote. "Poetry was born with man and will continue to sing for man." For his pride, his resilience and his matchless gift for song, Neruda was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1971. And he has continued to provide impressions around the world since his death in September, 1973. *Fashions and Impressions*, a new collection of Neruda's speeches, prose poems, essays and elegies, is the sort of book that could easily have been a diary. But Neruda's enthusiasm and his irresistible eloquence charge the snippets of prose with life.

No matter what occasions provoked the poet, his rich, flexible voice relays with irresistible force. He had no patience with any conception of literature as the preserve of a lucky minority. Having listened to the words of farmers, miners and fishermen, he pulled their struggles into his work, rejecting the sacralism of his early poetry in favor of heart-felt lyrics to everyday life. Because of this, he became a national hero, the speech he gave in Santiago after receiving the Nobel Prize had to be delivered in the national stadium, the only place large enough to accommodate his admirers. His triumph was their own. "I have always wanted the hands of the people to be seen in poetry," Neruda declared.

Neruda's life was as political as his writing. In 1945 he was elected a Chilean senator, two years later, faced with the gradual suppression of freedom by his government, he sent an open letter to the foreign press, charging that "This democratic tradition, the basic patrimony of Chile and the pride of the continent, is today being crushed and destroyed." As a result he became a wanted man, much of his magnificent long poem *Canto General* (Universal Song) was composed and published while Neruda was on the run. After years of exile he returned, taking an active part in the presidential election of Salvador Allende in 1970. Neruda died 18 days after the military coup that extinguished Chilean democracy; his enemies ransacked his home and destroyed many books and papers. Even in death he was a dangerous threat.

Like his poetry, *Fashions and Impressions* is memorable when it is passionate and forgettable when it is merely impressionistic. Neruda delighted in art that was stoned, seared, wrinkled by experience. By the end of the book he may seem to be a larger-than-life character, some fantastic hard and cruder from a Latin American extravaganza. But that is pure illusion. Pablo Neruda was never larger than life; he was only larger than most people permit themselves to be.

—SEAN ARLIN

## Down and out and on the road again

#### BLUE HIGHWAYS

By William Least Heat Moon  
(McColland and Stewart, 261 pages,  
\$13.95)

Between *Highways*, a tour of rural America by a Missouri English teacher, is a lesson in anti-urbanism, a medical book for an aging culture. The cases are out there waiting; the author reports, in the true heart of the land.

Disenjoyed and separated from his wife, William Troglon took back his Beatnik name and hit the road, in a Ford van, which he christened "Ghost Dancing." Armed with Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and John Keats's *Black Art*, Least Heat Moon drove the back roads in search of a lost America of wit, integrity and authenticity—and he found it. Guided by such names as the map as Nanticoke, Texas, and Dismal, Tex., his circle of more than 80,000 km took him through hot springs and cold streams, to desert castles, a Trappist monastery and gas stations, where he talked to anybody who would talk back. The people turned out to be as authentic as green-labeled Coca-Cola—of the reader can ignore the all-day drawl of Least Heat Moon coming on like Thomas in a black cowboy hat.

The author has such reverence for the past, including his literary ancestors in the Great American Odyssey tradition (Herman Melville, Jack Kerouac), that he ends up using the name of older and better writers instead of his own. He even looks of Chapter 8 with "Call me Least Heat Moon." Although he promises to be an exceptionally patient and hawkeyed reporter, with an eye on the side of the road and an ear for country poetry, he is not a great philosopher. "There's something about the desert that doesn't like man," he writes, seeing through New Mexico, and "When you're travelling, you are what you are right there and then. No pre-judgments on the road." When Least Heat Moon wakes up and notices a cowbird, the reader covers, waiting for the sort of reflection that fires renewed admiration for Words.

When Least Heat Moon hands the mike to other people, however, the book snaps back into focus. In his search for people who sometimes look you know to use their collections of covered porch pits, he lingered in shod-out laundries and ate in several hundred cabs. In Cedar City, Utah, a young Hopi Indian gave him a lesson in succumbance when he passed on the entire teachings of a Hopi



ahhh... NASSAU @ PARADISE ISLAND. What would you say to loads of history, tradition and Old World charm? To an island so heavenly it's called Paradise, where the luxury hotels, casino and nightlife make it one of the most exciting resorts on earth? abhh...that's better.

## The sooner, the better.



ahhh...that's better.

ahhh... NASSAU @ PARADISE ISLAND. What would you say to loads of history, tradition and Old World charm? To an island so heavenly it's called Paradise, where the luxury hotels, casino and nightlife make it one of the



most exciting resorts on earth? abhh...that's better.

complicated, unhurried and a little old fashioned? To people who treat you like family instead of like a tourist? abhh...that's better.

ahhh... BAHAMAS. Different from other islands. Different from each other. If you could be there right now, we know what you'd say. See your travel agent. The sooner, the better.



It's Better In The BAHAMAS

abhh... FAMILY ISLANDS. What would you say to no TV, newspapers, shoes or worries? To a style of living that's un-



The evening  
was simply  
classic.  
The wine was  
Bouchard Aîné  
Beaujolais  
Supérieur.

BOUCHARD AÎNÉ & FILS



## A VERY OUT OF THE ORDINARY HOTEL IS READY TO WELCOME YOU

Welcome to The Renaissance, a new luxury resort hotel at non-hurry prices, offering a whole new dimension in personal service and hospitality. With located at Highway 401 and Kennedy Road, convenient to the airport and downtown Toronto. Come visit us, business. Come stay for pleasure. We'll soon be looking after you.

RENAISSANCE  
HOTEL



A RENAISSANCE HOTEL

1001 Kennedy Road, Scarborough, Ontario M1T 3A2 (416) 291-1300  
Out of town Toronto Renaissance Hotels: (416) 499-4100 (Toronto) (416) 291-1300  
1-800-361-4811 (Toronto & Quebec) 1-800-361-4811 (All of Canada)  
Renaissance Residences: (416) 291-1300 (Toronto) (416) 291-1300 (Toronto)  
OTTAWA: (613) 735-1300 (Ottawa) (613) 735-1300 (Ottawa)  
1001 Kennedy Road, Scarborough

spirit, the Spider Grandmother "Don't go around hating each other" and "Try to understand things." Eventually, it dawns on Least Heat Moon that mud wisdom is not just a matter of being fructose food. The late in the book he realizes that "Black Elk understood more than he was for me. It was the other way."

The author's attention to sound, music, and respect for others creates the opposite impression, and his celebration of American plain folk seems grounded in a curious misanthropy. He has few kind words for the dozens of disgruntled waitresses who brought him all these hash browns, but, if the woman was poor, black or H, then he had time for a chat. Sitting by a campfire one night, he was interrupted by a wry old man complaining about his health and the fact that his daughter would be modeling for a codden package. "He was starting to pour Cave Creek," gushes Least Heat Moon, spout by someone slightly more ordinary than a genuine Southern cracker or an angry ghetto youth.

With his moral preoccupations of what is and what is not the heart of America, Least Heat Moon stays behind his wistfulness all the way. The view is beautiful, the stories are entertaining, and the voice is a good mimicry of the American troubadour on the road. But, like a much-Tudor roadhouse, the author himself winds up sitting for an indelible vision of the real thing.

—MARTIN JACKSON

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

- Fiction**
- 1 **5050** *Odyssey Two, Clarke (2)*
  - 2 **Spies** *Shelton (2)*
  - 3 **Masters of the Game, Sheldon (2)**
  - 4 **Different Seasons, King (2)**
  - 5 **The Partisan's War, Lush (2)**
  - 6 **Master's Daughter, Korda (2)**
  - 7 **Foundations of Power, Adams (2)**
  - 8 **The Rooms of Justice, Adams (2)**
  - 9 **The President's Daughter, Archer (2)**
  - 10 **The Valley at Barren, Abel (2)**

- Non-fiction**
- 1 **Ordnance** *An Intimate Portrait of the Modern World, McCall (2)*
  - 2 **The Establishment Man: A Portrait of Power, Newman (2)**
  - 3 **Why We Eat Like Canadians, Stryker (2)**
  - 4 **Nature in the Heartland, Pether (2)**
  - 5 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**
  - 6 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**
  - 7 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**
  - 8 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**
  - 9 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**
  - 10 **Reveries and Reflections in the West, Smith (2)**

## TELEVISION

# A benign universe leaps into life

**F**ew half-hours on television have ever delivered anything akin to magic. The imaginary kingdoms featured out from the tube have tended to be middle-American living rooms set decorated in Burbank. Even children's TV programs have rarely attempted to rival the enthusiasm of children's literature classes. Until *Fraggle Rock*.

The new show (which premiered last month and airs five Sundays at 5:30 p.m. on the CBC) from Les Henson and his magical Muppeteers does resemble television it is benign and kinder than *U.S. and Never-Never Land*, a sort of fantasy sitcom with sprightly morals and a dash of upbeat musical theatre thrown in. But from the very beginning, *Fraggles*, like a new wave of modernism, is a new mythology, songs and creatures, meant to life full-blown. Alice, Dorothy and Peter may have to learn over to make room for Gobo, Mokey, Boober, Womble and Mokey—the new-to-be-famous Fraggle Five.

The little fellows with the wily names and even slier looks—frocks of feather hair, wings that bear a family resemblance to Kermit and tails that owe all to the Cowardly Lion—live in a cavern full of stalactites and water pipes. They reach their domain in the classic way, down a tunnel from a hole in the wall of the inventor Doc's workshop (the only human in the cast, Doc is played by Gerard Parkes). Standing guard at the door to the tunnel is a Corvian "with great sharp teeth and a fearsome breath" (according to the *Fraggles*), who is actually the Doc's secret and sly dog, Spooket.

The *Fraggles*, as a rule, behave according to their words, except by the show's Canadian song-writing team of poet Dennis Lee and co-blues-band musician Philip Balsam. *Doc's new song!* Worry's for another day! Let the water play! Down at *Fraggle Rock*. But the high-mindedness does not prevent the five main *Fraggles* from becoming embroiled in all sorts of casual dilemmas involving such traditional values as courage, responsibility and friendship. The first three shows have clear prescient messages about the fun, but as each character finds his stride, the moral of the story about the balance of nature and the importance of the parent than the spruce of a fairy tale

Two other species sharing the *Rock* owe more to the remote-control puppet methods pioneered in *The Great Muppet Caper* and *The Dark Crystal* than to hand manipulation. The *Doors* are little, round-nosed robots in construction hats, constantly building glass houses. Luckily, *Fraggles* live to eat *Doors* buildings otherwise, the ecology of *Fraggle Rock* would be entirely apt. The other race is not concerned with harmony. These lovely giants called Gungi live in a huge garden where they grow giant flowers that *Fraggles* also like to eat. They call themselves the King, Queen and Crown Prince of the Gungi but they have no

will largely that of Henson and his associates, with crew and technical support from the CBC. But part of the deal involved an undertaking to hire Canadian writers, under the direction of longtime Muppet head writer Jerry Juhl, and to train 11 Canadians to work the puppets. A delightful side benefit of producing the show in Toronto was the ready availability of the duo that early *Fraggles* all the show's musical needs for, with his stoically singing off-the-wall lyrics, and Balsam, with his rough-and-ready rock-rock and catchy ballads.

The new universe's particular magic is best summed up by Henson, who is as ebullient as any talented 40-year-old



*Fraggle Rock's Junior, Mrs. and Mr. Gungi, Mokey, Womble and Boober.*

subjects on whom to practice their form of heavy-lidded imperialism—except for, pinky, rabbit *Fraggles*. These cannot operate the doors' heavy links, but their doors are articulated by remote-control-wielding Muppeteers.

Henson, looking for new territory for puppetry, was also searching for partners in *Fraggle Rock* who would not cramp his creative control—which the major U.S. networks tend to do as a matter of course. He had done specials at the CBC and liked the corporation's atmosphere. As a result, the two crews together in a co-production deal to share costs. In return, the CBC and Time Inc. Video Box Office got first crack at adapting the product. The creative talent is

had could be about the lack that set *Fraggle Rock* free, as he describes the spirit of the first show. The puppets are moved in great and joyful together, while over their heads the *Fraggles* effortlessly danced their own way—to the point where Balsam entirely forgot the starring animators. But at the end of the day, the *Fraggles* went up onto their pegs on the wall to hang for the night like so many broken Pinocchio. "I was shocked," says Balsam. "What were they doing hanging the *Fraggles* up on a peg?" To me, how slowly real beings." But then, how did Balsam know he saw that the *Fraggles* would just quietly hang there all night? —JOSE COLLINS





Michael: the most expensive miniseries ever is gripping despite its freshness

## The eye of a gathering storm

THE WINDS OF WAR  
civ. Feb. 8-22

A pay TV and videotape medium as ever-increasing battle for screen space, network television, feeling the heat, has been beating its way to the gun. The most powerful—and most successful—weapon in the arsenal are the miniseries, which provide drama, involving stimulation and grand presentation. With cerebral twists to prevail this genre, the mini-series have a built-in representative power. And they also appeal to the age-old anxiety: How will it all turn out? For these reasons, *The Winds of War*, 38 hours long and the most expensive (\$58 million) miniseries ever produced, is gripping despite its traditionalism.

The viewer, once led into its forced emotionalism and calculated intricacy, will likely be transfixed like a store. It would be an immense surprise—and a disappointment—to discover a single child that the series failed to connect. Adapted by Herman Wouk from his mouthwatering best seller, *The Winds of War* chronicles events leading up to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, beginning with Melvin's plans to invade Poland. In the centre of the gathering storm is the Henry family. The father, Pug (Robert Mitchum), is a military attaché stationed in Berlin, where he keeps tabs on the political mischief for Roosevelt (Ralph Bellamy). His wife, Rhoda (Polly Bergen), feels like a live-in stranger and soon finds herself in the arms of a lonely widower (Peter Green). Later, during the London Blitz,

Pug finds the waiting, peaceful arms of an English girl (Victoria Tennant).

The muted emotions do not stop these Byrnes Henry (Jim Michael Vincent), the prodigal son who has been leading around Europe, goes to work for a Jewish philosopher-writer (John Hayswood) living in Italy. There, Byron falls for the writer's beautiful, wild, naive, Natalie Auster, played by the beautiful, willful actress Ali MacGraw. But Natalie has long been engaged to a stable hand at the American Embassy in Warsaw. When Byron and Na-

**The Winds of War is a monumental production, custom-made to tug at heartstrings and wet handkerchiefs**

talie are trapped in Poland during the invasion, Byron proves himself a hero, becoming his father's son. Discouraged and implacably throughout are scenes of Hitler (dramatically acted by Gert Franzi) and his intense conferring and planning. Surely he's not. Wouk scores his long, dense and parents to chokehold Pearl Harbor.

Directed by Dan Curtis with the clan of a computer professor on a deadline, *The Winds of War* is sooty—and amazingly—looking in an atmosphere of pervasive dread. (There is one exception: a hair-raising scene of en masse waiting

for transport.) The reconstructions are accurate, and so is the junior-high overview of history, which is admittedly better than some at all or a falsehood thereof. But when Hitler shouts, "I'll look them a view they will choke on," referring to England and France, even the least critical soul may be felled to gasps.

An underbaking such as *The Winds of War* throws out so much on the sizzling as it does on the personality behind it. Always a pleasure to watch, Mitchell is perfectly cast as the naval commander whose feelings run too deep to emerge easily. Jim Michael Vincent possesses the strong, silent (but sensitive) type to a line about. As the young Jewish-American Princess, Ali MacGraw certainly looks stunning and gives a bearable performance, which for her is a genuine leap. Her wailing motherless—the loss of her mother, an unquenchable part of the mouth—are actually in character here. And as the tragic capitalist scene flows each time she and Vincent stare down-eyed at one another, the god of overlooked romance whips up a soundtrack.

Such clichés are disarmingly seductive. Rhoda's effort with the widower, *Brook Encounters* without the sex and elegance—and who can resist such innocent martyrdom? Pug's friendship with the derelict German officer (Jeremy Kemp) is borrowed from *La Grande Illusion*. A little girl crying out "Mama!" over her mother's dead body after a bombing and striking in taken from *Forbidden Grief*. Everything in *The Winds of War* is so well-known, and all the pain has been essentially trivialized by formula. The viewer who turns on his set would be advised to turn off his better judgment at the same time.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## FILMS

# Pity, terror and vision

THE NIGHT OF THE SHOOTING  
STARS

Directed by Paolo and Vittorio Taviani

A truly great film, *The Night of the Shooting Stars* is a radical work of many other in both its style and narrative structure. The title refers to the Italian superstars that on the night of Saint Lawrence, when stars shot in the heavens, wishes are granted on earth. The offbeat narrator, a woman, asks for the words to tell of another time, when she was six years old and the Germans raped the houses in her Italian village during the Second World War. As the tale unfolds, it comes fantasy with the retelling of actual experience. The film is a request for that experience.

With *The Night of the Shooting Stars*, Paolo and Vittorio Taviani (*Passo Pardo*) send a direct hit with the as-apologetically humanistic tradition of Italian culture. Superficially an enormous effort, one group of the townspeople decides to leave in search of the missing liberators army of America, while the others take refuge in the church. The travelers, some seemingly disabled, are hardworking, vital and glib. At the film's climax that glibness is first fancy and then tragic during a massacre in a wheat field involving the grasping, resourceful fighters and the Poets, an old woman in the middle of the horror was a young man running with a rifle, "Who's missing?" Then she asks another, a blackbird, who turns and shoots her. The film has a history, working quickly. The peasants, a short distance away from the town on the night they leave, hear the sounds of their houses being blown up. Rather than faces, the Taviani shoot close-up of ears and feet of hands gripping dark logs.

Apart from these scenes inspiring both pity and terror, there are others that are exquisitely childlike: excited boys secretly watch two girls urinate while the girls secretly urinate, a girl blows up a condom for a little girl to use as a balloon. The film is surreal and raw, yet classically designed almost every image is spacious, weighty and idealistic. Like poetry of the most profound sort, it is overbearing with mystery, granting its events a life beyond themselves—a requiem, certainly.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## Our friendly old lady may save your little old life.

The friendly old lady who often appears in your life is the one who can help you live a better life. How to make your life better is the first step to a better life. How to make your life better is the first step to a better life.



Special: Free Prevention Canada

## Don't Blame Your Age For Poor Hearing

Toronto—An offer of special interest to those who hear but do not understand words has been announced by Beldone. A non-operating model of the smallest Beldone aid of its kind will be given to anyone requesting it.

Send for this model, put it on and wear it in the privacy of your own home. It will show you how try hearing help can be. It is not a real hearing aid and it's yours to keep. The actual aid weighs less than a fourth of an ounce, and it's at all level in our ear.

We suggest you write for yours now. Again, we repeat, there is no cost, and certainly no obligation. So, send for your model now. Thousands have already been mailed, so be sure to write today to Department 4768, Beldone Electronics of Canada, Ltd., 124 Coombe Crescent, Unit 4A, Concord, Ontario L4K 1B1.



## A helpless child, a hopeless future

For just \$73 a month you can give a child, his family and community over the door to a new, brighter future. You can give them hope. Please, complete the coupon below, or call toll-free:

**1-800-268-7174.**

In British Columbia: 312-806-7174

<b>PLAN</b>		<b>FOSTER PARENTS PLAN OF CANADA</b>	
I want to be a Foster Parent of a boy <input type="checkbox"/> girl <input type="checkbox"/>		I am <input type="checkbox"/> years old <input type="checkbox"/> years old	
I live in <input type="checkbox"/> province <input type="checkbox"/> or <input type="checkbox"/> if interested in growing		I have the first payment of \$25.00 monthly <input type="checkbox"/> \$50.00 monthly <input type="checkbox"/>	
I have the first payment of \$25.00 monthly <input type="checkbox"/> \$50.00 monthly <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>		I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information <input type="checkbox"/>	
I can be a Foster Parent right now <input type="checkbox"/> I would like to know more information			

# Walking small in Winnipeg

By Allan Fotheringham

Little Friday night Joe Clark and the strikingly attractive Maureen Maureen stood behind blue curtains backstage at the enormous Winnipeg Convention Centre. Standing stiffly in regimental fashion face and feet were a small phalanx of party supporters. Maureen was flushed but serene, Joe with that embarrassed look in his blue, mouth-widened as perfunctory television viewers. They were prepared for the long march up to the gulchstone known as the stage, Tories with slaking knifing needles at the base, the vote having been announced, and the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada about to announce that he would throw himself to the wolves. Some eager cameramen, waiting outside the curtains, tried to prepare his picture. Others initiated him, until we had the strange spectacle of the cameramen screaming in on the doctored couple, as if peeping toms, while they had to wait the official signal to march. It looked for all the world like a scene out of the hallways in *Melina*, of Scholz and cognate subterfuge in preparation for the inevitable to be released into the sand.

Joe Clark is a walking small tragedy, the kid in the schoolyard that all the political bullies pick on, the whipping boy for a nation. As if to mock him, the Manitoba Theatre Centre just happened to be staging during the run of the Tory Politics in Winnipeg, Richard III, and all the references to the murder of the boy prince were set fast on the pattern—there as the theatre or in the Conservative press. It was perhaps apt that the convention chairman was another specimen of misused Tory cinema, Senator Duff Roblin, who dithered in indecision about entering so long as another leadership convention is 1980 that he expounded linguistocrat Dalton Camp, who then recruited Robert Staebeld, who then beat out the late-starting Roblin.

The Tories are always late-starting, gun on their sheet as they stumble from the gate. Premier Bill Davis, who Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

allegedly supports Clark, took his leisurely time to arrive in Winnipeg only hours before the vote, as there would be no danger he might influence anyone, taking time to detour through the U.S. Midwest. For a peacetime driver before making it to Manitoba, Premier Peter Lougheed, who once employed Clark, showed his allegiance by resting in the sand in Hawaii. The suspicious Clarkians, wary of backy-pussy emanating from the frontier's nature of Quebec politics, held up the reputation of a band of infernal delegates from that province so long that they inadvertently



shot out a clutch of Clark supporters who would have boosted his slender 60.8 per cent approval rating.

Clark himself is out of sync with the times, his public manner and demeanor unattractive to something out of another era. Just as his speeches are all Defenided and Staebeld in tone, a young man by political standards sounding like someone from the Paul Martin-Doe Johnson school of conservatism. He has spent two years at what he does best, working the back rooms, seeking originate support, and come up firing blanks, the doctored telling him their constituents don't use him as a future prime minister. The style is the man himself: the congressman decided in 1965 about Pierre Trudeau, and the 2,600 Tory delegates, representing the 41 per cent of Canadians who want a Conservative government, put the same label on Joe Clark. The television age means it's a cruel football for public figures, but there is no law that states a man must want to become prime minis-

ter, and a man who seems perpetually uncomfortable in public must pay the consequences.

Otto Lang once said that Joe Clark has never realized why he should be prime minister except that he wants the job. That really is not good enough. Though he has since dampened the affection and respect, there was a reason for Pierre Trudeau in 1968. There was a reason for John Diefenbaker in 1957. There was a reason why Mackenzie King, why Louis St. Laurent, why Miles Pearson, were elected at those particular times. The public has no real sense of what Clark stands for, what he represents, save for the fact that he seems a decent fellow, from a small western Canadian town, who has the perseverance to teach himself French.

But he has no leadership qualities, leadership being defined as the ability to inspire. No one can ever recall a Joe Clark quote, though he has been leader for seven years and has been in politics all his adult life (his best years actually are in very wet private). When 42 of his own 165 MPs sign black-and-white letters demanding that he promise to resign—as they did a year ago, it is little wonder that the confused and addled Tory delegates can give him only one-half of one percentage point more than they did two years ago.

The Conservatives, being conservatives, have now done the worst possible of all things. They have "conferred" their leader, but with a level of enthusiasm so dubious that he is forced out of public humiliation to resign so he can run again. They have got rid of the moribund son of party president Peter Stelin, who in his farewell conversation confirmed his reputation by fighting with the press (as he did within five minutes of taking office) and promising not to speak for 30 minutes (he didn't, he spoke for 40). In his place they now have a completely green grocer that must supervise a leadership race that will make Richard (D) look like Anne of Green Gables. Joe Clark will run and may win, with 50.1 per cent of the vote, and we'll all be a lot further ahead, now won't we? Ambition without talent is a terrible thing.

# Today playing with a computer is kid stuff

**SHARP PC-1251 Pocket Computer**

The education of your child is no game. Though many children view computers for recreational use, it's important as parents to realize tomorrow's challenges will only be met by those who are skilled and educated in the tools of the future. The computer is an important part of the future. A young mind taught today to use the computer properly, can tap the benefits tomorrow. It's up to you to guide them. A young mind has great potential if the right seed is planted.

Sharp family of pocket computers wants to familiarize your family with them. Though light and portable, the PC-1251 has 4K MEMORY which allows students from junior high school to university to perform a variety of high level mathematical tasks including scientific calculations.

Priced from \$169.95\* (or less), it's an affordable pocket computer that is unequalled in performance. The Sharp PC-1251 Pocket Computer. Value sets it apart from the rest.

**IN YOUR HANDS THEIR FUTURE LIES**

\*Above price is for basic unit only. Options extra.



**SHARP**

SHARP ELECTRONICS OF CANADA LTD.  
116 Galaxy Boulevard, Rexdale, Ontario M9W 4Y6

Some things just take your breath away.

Great Canadian Vodka

